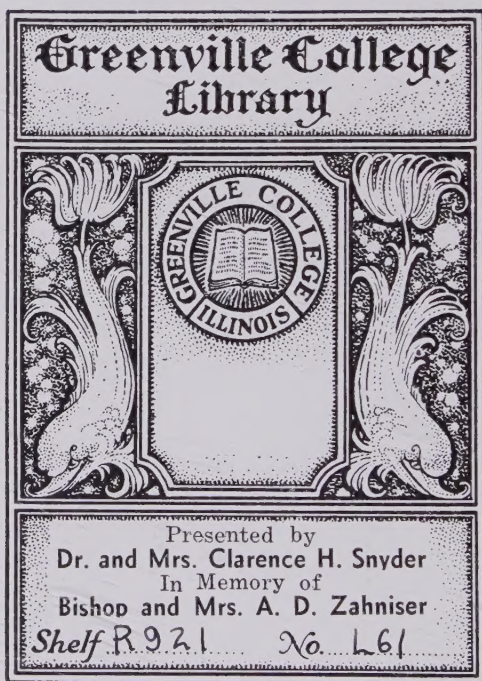


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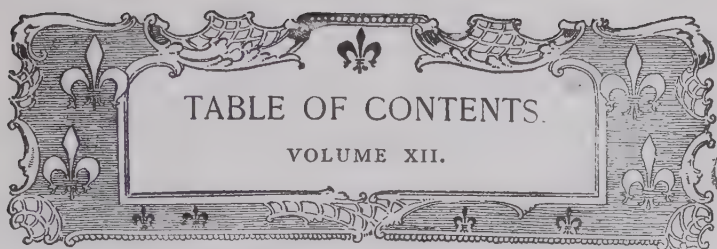
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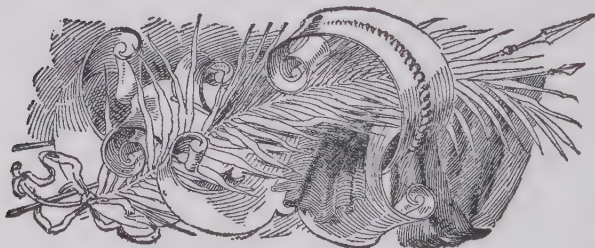
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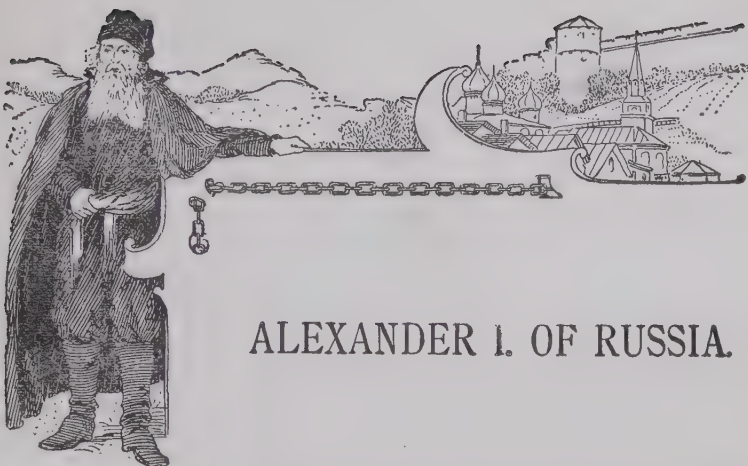


	PAGE
ALEXANDER I. OF RUSSIA: <i>Friedland and Tilsit</i>	5-10
NICHOLAS I. OF RUSSIA: <i>The Crimean War</i>	15-22
ALEXANDER II. OF RUSSIA	25
ALEXANDER III. OF RUSSIA: <i>The Power Behind the Russian Throne</i>	35-42
NICHOLAS II. OF RUSSIA	48
LI HUNG CHANG: <i>General Grant and Li Hung Chang</i>	55-63
COUNT CAVOUR: <i>Rome the Capital of Italy</i>	66-70
MARSHAL MACMAHON: <i>The Battle of Magenta</i>	74-77
THADDEUS STEVENS: <i>The Great American Commoner</i>	81-85
ANDREW JOHNSON: <i>The Impeachment of President Johnson</i>	90-95
EDWIN M. STANTON: <i>President Johnson's Removal of Stanton</i>	102-105
BENJAMIN F. BUTLER: <i>Butler's Farewell Address at New Orleans</i>	111-115
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	118
SAMUEL J. TILDEN	125
CHESTER A. ARTHUR: <i>President Arthur's Inaugural Address</i>	130-135
GROVER CLEVELAND: <i>President Cleveland's Tariff Message, 1887</i>	137-147
THE BAYARD FAMILY:	157
<i>The Proper Relation of Great Britain and America</i>	160
JOHN M. PALMER: <i>The Great Fire of Chicago</i>	165-168
BENJAMIN HARRISON	172
ALFRED T. MAHAN	178
WILLIAM MCKINLEY:	181
<i>Memorial Day Address, 1894. The Protective Tariff of 1890</i>	192-195
THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR	202
CHARLES D. SIGSBEE: <i>The Destruction of the Maine</i>	228-229
GEORGE DEWEY: <i>Dewey's Report of the Battle of Manila Bay</i>	232-240
THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY	242

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
WILLIAM T. SAMPSON	251
WINFIELD S. SCHLEY	255
DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S FLEET	259
RICHMOND P. HOBSON	267
CHARLES E. CLARK	271
NELSON A. MILES	273
THEODORE ROOSEVELT	277
THE BATTLE OF SAN JUAN: <i>General Wheeler's Report</i>	284-287
THE CAPTURE OF MANILA	289
MARY BAKER G. EDDY	295
THE BOER WAR	297
JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN	299
LORD SALISBURY	309
QUEEN VICTORIA	313
EDWARD VII	319
INDEX OF HISTORIC CHARACTERS	322
INDEX OF CHARACTERS MENTIONED	327
INDEX OF FAMOUS EVENTS	359
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES (Arranged by Countries)	379-417





ALEXANDER I. OF RUSSIA.



At the opening of the eighteenth century Russia appeared to the rest of Europe to be emerging from barbarism under the direction of Peter the Great. A century later this mighty empire had become a predominating force in the world. The insatiable ambition of Napoleon compelled the Czar to enter the terrible international conflict. When Napoleon was finally overthrown, the mystical religious disposition of Alexander I. led to the Holy Alliance, which undertook to reconstruct Europe on a religious monarchical basis. Henceforth Russia was the chief conservative power.

Alexander Paulevich, the son of the Czar Paul and Maria, daughter of Eugene, King of Wurtemberg, was born December 28, 1777. From his mother he inherited beauty and grace. He was carefully trained at the court of his grandmother, Catherine II. His father, Paul, whose crazy vagaries had become unbearable, was assassinated on March 11, 1801, and on the next morning Alexander was proclaimed Czar. His coronation at Moscow took place in the following September. The ruling ideas of Peter the Great had, before this period, been carried out ; what Russia now most required was a moral reformer in its ruler. This Alexander endeavored to be. Mildness and forbearance were the characteristics of his government. He cultivated the friendship of other sovereigns and

entered into amicable arrangements with the states of Europe, thus gaining for himself the title of "Prince of Peace." In short, he adopted every measure which might procure advantages to his vast empire. A ukase was published for diminishing taxes, liberating persons confined for debt, prohibiting prosecutions for the recovery of fines, discontinuing the mode of recruiting the army, and granting a free pardon to all deserters. Some of the most remarkable deeds of his commencing reign were his taking off the embargo which had been laid by Paul on British vessels; his entering into a treaty of commerce with Sweden; his guaranteeing the sovereignty of Malta to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; his proclamation of the union of Georgia to the empire, and the emancipation of the Jews from the shackles under which they had long groaned, and allowing them various privileges.

In April, 1805, a convention was entered into between Russia, Austria, and Sweden for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of France on the territories of independent states. A large Russian force was sent into Germany, which did not, however, arrive in time to prevent the Austrian capital from falling under the power of Napoleon. On the 2d of December the battle of Austerlitz took place, in which Alexander appeared at the head of 50,000 men to aid the Emperor Francis, whose troops amounted to about half that number. The French were victorious, and the emperors of Russia and Austria, compelled to witness the destruction of their splendid legions, saved themselves by flight. In July, 1806, negotiations for a general peace were commenced at Paris, but the Russian minister, D'Oubril, having signed precipitately a separate treaty with France, Alexander refused to ratify it. The negotiations were therefore broken off, and the relations between Russia and England remained undisturbed. Poland now became the seat of warfare. On the 26th of November, 1806, was fought the battle of Pultush; and on the 7th and 8th of February, 1807, that of Eylau; neither of which engagements was decisive. On the 14th of June, however, the Russian army was overwhelmingly defeated at Friedland by Napoleon.

Hero-worship was most certainly one of the weaknesses of

Alexander I. He now became completely dazzled by the genius and success of the French Emperor. So far did his infatuation lead him, that he entered into Napoleon's plans for conquest, and even sought to bring about a marriage with him and his sister Catherine; but the strong and determined opposition of the empress-mother prevented this alliance. The result of the battle of Friedland was an interview between the two emperors. Alexander first accepted the secret conditions of the Treaty of Tilsit. They met on a raft in the river Niemen, and the treaty was signed on the 7th of July, 1807. "Alexander's assistance," wrote the Prussian Gneisenau after the treaty of Tilsit, "is as ruinous to the country he affects to protect, as the attack of the enemy, and he winds up by sharing in the spoil taken from his unfortunate ally." By a secret article in this treaty the Russian Emperor bound himself to declare war against Great Britain. This he did on the 26th of October in the same year. A second meeting of the French and Russian sovereigns took place at Erfurdt September 27, 1808, Napoleon being anxious to secure the friendship of Alexander previously to his meditated subjugation of Spain. While the former was engaged in the prosecution of this undertaking, the latter made himself master of the Swedish province of Finland, his troops taking possession of Abo, the capital, in September, 1809, and the annexation of the greater part of the province to the empire of Russia soon followed. For nearly five years did the alliance between Russia and France remain unbroken. The interruption of commerce with England, however, now began to be severely felt by the Russians; and the pride of Alexander revolting against the subjection to which he had been reduced, by the pretensions of Napoleon and his "Continental System," he resolved to throw off the yoke. A rupture followed and Alexander joined the great coalition against Napoleon. With an army of nearly half a million of men, collected from almost every nation in Europe, the French Emperor advanced to the conquest of Russia. The first action of importance was at Smolensk, which the Russians themselves set on fire, as they were forced to abandon it. The bloody battle of Borodino was next fought. The French army was about 120,000 strong; the Russians

were perhaps more. The 6th of September, 1812, was the date of this terrible conflict. Each side fought valiantly, and not until night were the Russians beaten and forced to abandon the field. Dearly did Napoleon win this battle. Both forces lost each about 25,000 men. Eight generals fell on the part of the French. The death of Prince Bagration was a loss as severe to the Russians. On the 14th of September the French army entered Moscow, Kutusoff, the Russian commander, having reluctantly abandoned the hope of defending it. But Napoleon was to receive a terrible and unexampled reverse. The Russians burned their ancient capital and forced the French army to make that retreat which presents one of the most distressing scenes on human record. In February, 1813, Alexander, joining his army in Poland, issued the famous manifesto which served as the basis of the coalition of the other European powers against the rapacity of the French Emperor. Russia was successively joined by the armies of Prussia, Austria and Sweden. The allies had nearly 500,000 men. Alexander was present at the battle of Dresden and also at Leipsic, where Napoleon sustained a crushing defeat on the 18th of October, 1813. On March 30, 1814, Paris was taken by the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia in person. On the 31st they entered the captured city at the head of their victorious army. Napoleon was dethroned, banished to the Isle of Elba, and the Bourbons restored to the French throne.

Alexander, on being crowned king of Poland in 1815, submitted to a certain limitation of the regal authority, granted the right of legislation to the Senate, and a representative body to the people. A congress of allied sovereigns was held at Vienna in October, 1814, the professed object of which was to take measures to secure the repose of Europe, and settle the boundaries of the different kingdoms. It was a display of the exultation of the old European dynasties at the downfall of Napoleon. There were present the emperors of Russia and Austria; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Wurtemberg; fifteen other sovereigns and six mediatised princes from the smaller States of Germany. Indeed, every other European State, except Turkey, which took no part in

the Congress, was represented by its most eminent statesman. Alexander came to Vienna with his empress Elizabeth; he was attended by an enormous suite and a full military staff of nine generals and a host of minor officers. The tall, strong figure, the broad handsome face, the kindly smiling eyes of the Russian Emperor made up a personality as charming as it was noble. Count Lagarde, writing of him, says: "The Emperor Alexander was adored by those who enjoyed the honor of his intimacy; and the simplicity of his manners, together with his easy politeness and gallantry, won all hearts in Vienna." The chief business of the congress of Vienna seemed for a time to be dancing. People danced on every occasion and in every place. Called on to settle the affairs of Europe after a period of unprecedented upheaval, the assembled statesmen knew of no mode of action save intrigue and chicanery, of no political ideal save the equilibrium of dynastic interests. The great interest of the Congress at last began to centre round the question of Saxony. Long and furious were the conferences between Alexander and the Austrian minister, Metternich. On the sudden return of Napoleon to France the diplomatists were compelled to conclude their differences. In consequence of this meeting, that part of Galicia acquired by Russia from Austria in 1809, was returned to that power, and the greatest part of the principality of Warsaw was then ceded to Russia. At Paris a general treaty of peace was concluded by the associated sovereigns, between Russia, Austria, England and Prussia, on the one side, and France on the other. In 1815 the Holy Alliance, as it was termed, was formed between the Emperors of Russia, Austria, and the King of Prussia, and some other powers afterwards joined it. Alexander was the heart and soul of this alliance. Its ostensible object was to regulate the affairs of Europe on the basis of Christian charity.

Of the young wife, chosen for Alexander by Catherine II., he soon tired. Elizabeth's place in her husband's heart became filled by another, her inferior in all save beauty. After years of estrangement the Emperor awoke from his unworthy dream, and by a life of devotion and affectionate attention he sought to make his lawful wife forget the sad past.

For the benefit of Elizabeth's health the imperial pair concluded to visit Taganrog, a small town on the Sea of Azof. Here the Emperor was seized with a fever which was greatly aggravated by a chronic tendency to erysipelas. He expired on the 1st of December, 1825, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign.

Alexander I. may be regarded as an able, active and talented prince, and a very efficient sovereign for a country like Russia, an empire composed of fifty millions of people. His rule covered a period replete with vicissitude and danger. Throughout his vast dominions Alexander displayed a high regard for literature and the arts, which flourished in his reign; and though he exhibited a tendency towards superstition in religious matters, it did not lead him into any odious measures of constraint or persecution.

The character of Alexander I. is one offering many contradictions. Chateaubriand said of him: "He may, perhaps, often do wrong; but it is ever his desire to do right." Rabbe, the author of "*L'Histoire d'Alexandre*," declared him brilliant, but superficial, an idealist and a theorist, with a mind full of borrowed ideas and disconnected systems. Napoleon, at St. Helena, in a conversation with Count Las Casas, said of him: "The Emperor of Russia is infinitely superior; he possesses abilities, grace and information; he is fascinating; but you cannot trust him; he is not sincere, he is a true Greek of the Lower Empire. He is, or pretends to be, a metaphysician; his faults are those of his education." Alexander, however, was not lacking in that ambition which makes a powerful ruler a menace to his neighbors. Never was a sovereign more beloved or lamented by his own people, and he may be regarded as the most judicious, politic and highly gifted of the legitimate rulers of his age.

FRIEDLAND AND TILSIT.

In the spring of 1807, Bennigsen, who had been reinforced by 10,000 regular troops, 6000 Cossacks, and the Imperial Guard, being now at the head of 100,000 men, took the offensive; Gortchakof commanding the right and Bagration the left. He tried, as in the preceding year, to seize Ney's division, but the latter

fought as he retired, two bloody fights, at Gutstadt and Anken-dorff. Bennigsen, again in danger of being surrounded, retired on Heilsberg. He defended himself bravely (June 10th ;) but the French, extending their line on his right, marched on Eylau, so as to cut him off from Königsberg. The Russian generalissimo retreated ; but being pressed, he had to draw up at Friedland, on the Alle.

The position he had taken up was most dangerous. All his army was enclosed in an angle of the Alle, with the steep bed of the river at their backs, which in case of misfortune left them only one means of retreat, over the three bridges of Friedland. The French vanguard arrived at two in the morning, filled the woods of Posthenen with sharpshooters, and held the Russians in check till the arrival of the Emperor. The Russian army was almost hidden in the ravine of Alle. "Where are the Russians concealed?" asked Napoleon, when he came up. When he had noted their situation, he exclaimed, "It is not every day that one surprises the enemy in such a fault." He put Lannes and Victor in reserve, ordered Mortier to oppose Gortchakof on the left and to remain still, as the movement which "would be made by the right would pivot on the left." As to Ney, he was to cope on the right with Bagration, who was shut in by the angle of the river ; he was to meet them "with his head down," without taking any care of his own safety. Ney led the charge with irresistible fury ; the Russians were riddled by his artillery at 150 paces ; he successively crushed the chasseurs of the Russian Guard, the Ismailovski, and the Horse Guards, burnt Friedland by shells, and cannonaded the bridges which were the only means of retreat. In a quarter of an hour the Ismailovski lost 400 men out of 520. Bagration, surrounded by the grenadiers of Moscow, had to use his sword ; his lieutenants, Raievski, Ermolof, and Baggownt, wasted their strength in useless efforts. The Russian left wing was almost thrown into the river ; Bagration with the Semenovski and other troops, was hardly able to cover the defeat. On the Russian right, Gortchakof, who had advanced to attack the immovable Mortier, had only time to ford the Alle. Count Lambert retired with 29 guns by the left bank, the rest fled by the right bank, closely pursued by the cavalry. Meanwhile Murat, Davoust, and Soult, who had taken no part in the battle, arrived before Königsberg. Lestocq, with 25,000 men, tried to defend it, but on learning the disaster of Friedland he hastily evacuated it. Only one fortress now remained to Frederic Wil-

liam—the little town of Memel. The Russians had lost at Friedland from 15,000 to 20,000 men, besides 80 guns (June 14, 1807).

Alexander, who was established at Jurburg, received a report from Bennigsen merely announcing that he had been obliged to evacuate the banks of the Alle, and that he would wait in a more advantageous position till Lobanof Rostovski brought him reinforcements. Now Lobanof had only a few thousand Kalmucks, and it was to these badly-armed savages that they looked for the salvation of Russia. More explicit accounts reached Alexander from the Czarevitch Constantine and other officers. The situation was desperate: Alexander had no longer an army. Only one man, Barclay de Tolly, proposed to continue the war; but in order to do this it would be necessary to re-enter Russia to penetrate into the very heart of the empire, to burn everything on the way and present only a desert to the enemy. Alexander hoped to get off more cheaply. He wrote a severe letter to Bennigsen and gave him powers to treat. Prince Lobanof left for the headquarters of Napoleon, who sent in his turn the Captain de Talleyrand-Périgord. Alexander had at that time a common sentiment with Napoleon—hatred of the English. He could not pardon them for their refusal to guarantee a Russian loan, nor for the calculated insufficiency of their diversions, nor for their mercantile selfishness.

On June 25th the interview on the raft at Tilsit took place. Alexander and Napoleon conversed for nearly two hours. The King of Prussia was not admitted to a conference on which depended the fate of his dynasty. On horseback on the shore, he pushed his steed into the stream, or sat with his eyes fixed on the fatal raft. Even the personal graces of the Queen of Prussia could not soften the severity of the treaty. It was from "respect for the Emperor of Russia, and desire to unite the two nations in a bond of eternal friendship," that Napoleon "consented" to restore to Frederic William III., Old Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silesia (July 8, 1807).

These articles consummated the fall of Prussia. On the west, Napoleon deprived her of all her possessions between the Rhine and the Elbe, with Magdeburg; he dethroned her allies of Brunswick and Cassel, and on the east confiscated all Poland. He thus broke the two wings of the Prussian eagle. On its right he established the kingdom of Westphalia; on its left the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Dantzic was declared a free town; the district of Belostok, part of the dismembered Black Russia, again

became Russian soil. The States of the princes of Mecklenburg and Oldenburg were restored to them ; but they had to suffer the occupation of their territory for the carrying out of the Continental blockade, and, like Saxony, the States of Thuringia and all the small princes of Germany, they were forced to accede to the Confederation of the Rhine. The King of Prussia adhered to the Continental blockade. His dominions were not to be given back to him till after the complete payment of a war indemnity.

Besides the conditions relative to Prussia, the Treaty of Tilsit established: (1) Russian mediation between France and England, French mediation between England and Turkey; (2) Alexander's recognition (likewise that of Frederic William III.) of the Kings Joseph of Naples, Louis of Holland, Jerome of Westphalia, as well as the recognition of the Confederation of the Rhine, and of all States founded by Napoleon; (3) reciprocal guarantees for the integrity of the present possessions of Russia and France.

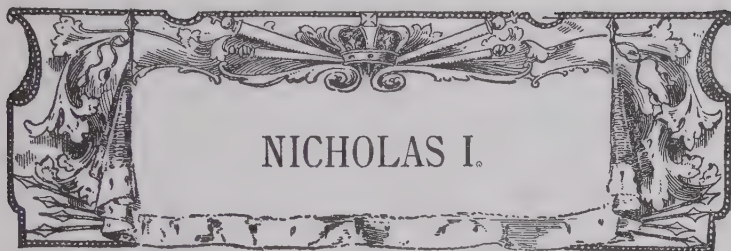
A second treaty with secret articles stipulated that Cattaro should be restored to France; that the Ionian Isles should be hers in perpetuity; that if Ferdinand were deprived of Sicily, he should have no other equivalent than the Balearic Isles, or Cyprus and Candia; that in this case Joseph should be acknowledged king of the Two Sicilies; that an amnesty should be accorded to the Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, and other peoples who had revolted at the call of Russia; that if Hanover were united to the kingdom of Westphalia, Prussia should receive in exchange a territory on the left bank of the Elbe, with 300,000 or 400,000 inhabitants.

A third treaty, offensive and defensive, provided that (1) an ultimatum should be addressed to England on the 1st of November, and that if it had no results war should be declared against her by Russia on the 1st of December; (2) that Turkey should be allowed a delay of three months to make her peace with the Czar, and that then "the two high contracting Powers should come to an understanding to withdraw all the Ottoman provinces in Europe, Constantinople and Roumelia excepted, from the yoke and tyranny of the Turks;" (3) that Sweden should be summoned to break with England, and if she refused, Denmark was to be invited to take part in the war against her, and Finland was to be annexed to Russia; (4) that Austria should be invited to accede to the system of Continental blockade at the same time as Sweden, Denmark and Portugal.

In certain respects this peace deserved the name of the

“treacherous peace” that the English agent Wilson applied to it in his disappointment. Turkey was abandoned, delivered over by her old friend France, though it is true that Napoleon alleged, in excuse, the revolution which had just overthrown his friend the Sultan Selim. He acted in the same way with regard to Sweden, another old ally. He made all these sacrifices to have the right of executing his Machiavellian designs against Spain, whose troops fought loyally under his banners. Alexander did not make fewer sacrifices of honor and interest to the new combination. He abruptly consented to go to war with his former ally, England; he renounced the principle of the integrity of Prussia, and even accepted as spoil the province of Belostok; he did not hesitate to wrest Finland from his brother-in-law, Gustavus IV.; he consented to see, under the euphemism of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a nucleus of Poland formed on the frontier. This strange treaty might, however, if it had been loyally executed, have contented the two States. The part of Russia was more brilliant on the whole than that of Napoleon; while France was to exhaust herself in a barren war with Spain, splendid vistas opened in the East and on the Danube to the ambition of Alexander. Thanks to the French alliance, he could follow on this side the glorious traces of Saviatoslaf, of Peter the Great, and his grandmother, Catherine. During some days, at least, Alexander seemed enthusiastic about his ally. They exchanged the ribbons of their orders; each decorated one of the bravest soldiers of the other army; the grenadier Lazaref received the cross of the Legion of Honor; a battalion of the Imperial Guard offered a fraternal banquet to the Preobrajenski.—A. RAMBAUD.





NICHOLAS I.



PAUL, the Emperor of all the Russias at the close of the eighteenth century, had four sons, Alexander, Constantine, Nicholas, and Michael. When he was assassinated in 1801, Alexander succeeded to the throne. Alexander's only children were two daughters, who died in infancy. Thus the Grand Duke Constantine, born in 1779, was the next heir. At the age of seventeen he had been married to the Princess Juliana, of Saxe-Coburg, whose brother Leopold afterwards became King of Belgium. But the marriage proved unhappy, and four years later Constantine and his wife separated. In 1815 Constantine was made commander of the army in Poland, and virtually the ruler of the country. Though a constitutional government had been promised, he ruled it most despotically. Having fallen in love with a Polish countess, Joanna Gudzinska, he obtained from the Holy Synod a decree of divorce from his first wife and permission to marry again. When this was done in 1820, Constantine signed a secret paper relinquishing all right to succession to the throne.

Nicholas, the third son of Czar Paul, was born at the palace of Gatshina, near St. Petersburg, on July 7, 1796. His early education was under the direction of his mother, Mary of Wurtemberg, a pious, but narrow-minded woman. Under the German tutors, Adelung and Storch, he acquired proficiency in modern languages, but his favorite studies were mathematics and fortification. Though anxious to serve in the army during Napoleon's invasion of Russia, he was not permitted to do so. In the campaign of 1814 in France he

was allowed to visit the headquarters of the allied forces, but not to take part in any engagement, and he was present during the occupation of Paris in 1815. Soon afterwards, Alexander, looking upon Nicholas as his probable heir, sent him to travel on the Continent and to visit England. At the various courts he was received with the consideration due to his rank, and his striking personal appearance made a favorable impression on all observers. In 1817 Nicholas married Louise Charlotte, daughter of Frederic William III., King of Prussia. Her character and temper were admirably suited to those of her husband, and their union was entirely harmonious. Nicholas now received his commission in the Russian army, and found pleasure in the practice of military tactics.

When Alexander I. died, December 1, 1825, Nicholas took the oath of allegiance to his brother Constantine, who was proclaimed emperor on the same day. But when the edict of Alexander appointing Nicholas his successor was opened, the highest authorities of Russia called on him to assume the crown. He refused for three weeks, until a despatch from Warsaw confirmed Constantine's renunciation. But the accession of Nicholas occasioned a bloody revolt. Constantine was the idol of the army, and its leaders could not believe that he would voluntarily forego his birthright. They determined to make him their ruler, pronouncing Nicholas a usurper. Many noblemen and literary men joined the conspiracy, and propagated it among the soldiers and the common people. The young Czar was not dismayed. Though Russia had not known an execution for eighty years, he restored capital punishment. In a cavalry charge upon the rebels 1,000 were killed and wounded, and 800 were made prisoners. Five of the conspirators were condemned to be quartered alive, thirty-one to be beheaded, and others to be exiled to Siberia. But the Czar commuted the penalties, so that those sentenced to be quartered were hung. Many of the best and bravest youths of Russia were sent to Siberia and the Caucasus. Nicholas was despotic by nature, and had been trained in the monarchical reaction which followed the French Revolution. Implacability was the worst feature of his character. Long after all danger had passed, he plotted revenge on those who were

suspected of sympathy with the revolt. To the maintenance of absolute government he devoted himself with deep religious conviction. As a result a writer declared, "Not a mouse can stir in Russia without permission of the Czar." Nicholas was crowned at Moscow with great splendor on the 3d of September, 1826, his brother Constantine being present and taking the oath of homage.

The first war of the new sovereign was with Persia. Alexander I. had in 1813 concluded with that nation the treaty of Gulistan, by which Georgia and some other provinces were ceded to Russia. It was also agreed that either party should have the right to enlarge its possessions in certain directions, provided it gave the other an equivalent elsewhere. Prince Menschikoff went to Teheran to make such an offer, but the Shah refused to accept the exchange. War was declared, and at first the Persians carried all before them. But their attack on Tiflis was repulsed, and the Shah's son was routed at Ganja. The war continued through another year with severe losses to the Persians. At Turkmanchai a treaty was signed in February, 1828, by which Russia acquired the provinces of Erivan and Nakhtchivan, besides a war indemnity of 20,000,000 rubles.

Russia had been on the brink of war with Turkey for some years before on account of Greece and the Greek Church. Alexander had been restrained by Austria and England from declaring war in spite of the dreadful Turkish outrages, but on the accession of Nicholas, the British government sent the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg to negotiate joint diplomatic action to put a stop to the internecine war in Greece. Russia, England, and afterwards France, united in proposing a modified independence for Greece, the Turkish population being removed from the country. But the Sultan, relying on the aid of Mehemet Ali, contemptuously rejected their proposal. The allied squadrons, therefore, attacked and utterly destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino on October 20, 1827. Greek independence being thus established, France and England withdrew from further interference. The Sultan called the Mohammedans to war against Russia, and Nicholas declared war in April 1828. In the first campaign the Russians

were led by him in person into Turkey. Varna was captured, but Silistria and Shumla resisted until the Russians were compelled to go into winter quarters. In the next year Silistria capitulated in June, the Turks were defeated at Kulevtcha in July, and the Russians under Diebitsch crossed the Balkan mountains. On the 19th of August they reached Adrianople, which immediately surrendered. Diebitsch, though his forces were small, set out for Constantinople, and caused such alarm that the war was brought to a close by the treaty of Adrianople, on the 14th of September, 1829. By it Russia acquired some ports on the Black Sea, and had its protectorate over the Danubian principalities confirmed and extended. Turkish fortresses on the left bank of the Danube were ordered to be destroyed. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles were declared free and open to the commerce of all nations. Nicholas contracted for the removal of ten thousand Armenian families from Asiatic Turkey, thus depopulating whole districts. The money indemnity to be paid to Russia was left unsettled, thus giving the Czar the most powerful means of enforcing his influence at Constantinople.

Nicholas was crowned king of Poland at Warsaw in 1829. The Congress of Vienna had made it a constitutional kingdom, united with Russia only in the person of its ruler. But the Grand-duke Constantine, the actual governor, had wielded his power despotically. His self-sacrifice had proved his loyalty to Nicholas, and his course was fully approved by the Czar. His system of espionage and arbitrary government provoked general discontent. At length in November, 1830, that year of revolution throughout Europe, the hatred of Russian despotism flamed up into rebellion. Student conspirators entered the palace near Warsaw, hoping to seize the Grand-duke, but he escaped, though with difficulty. When the troops fraternized with the people, he was forced to release all Polish political prisoners and to declare his intention not to call in the Russian army. For a time his guards remained faithful, but when they deserted him to join the insurgents, he left the country. The Czar, offended, deprived him of his command and would not allow him to come to St. Petersburg. Constantine stayed on the border of Poland

while General Diebitsch conducted the war. Constantine died June 27, 1831. Diebitsch also died and was succeeded by Paskewitch. The Polish diet had pronounced the dethronement of Nicholas. Its leaders were disappointed at not receiving help from foreign powers. Though their army maintained its cause with vigor, they were repeatedly defeated. After a desperate resistance, Warsaw surrendered on September 8, 1831. Nicholas, who was highly enraged at the rebellion, showed no mercy to his conquered enemy. He declared "I will make a Siberia of Poland, and a Poland of Siberia." By the ukase of February 14, 1832, the surviving Polish soldiers were sent to Minsk and pressed into the military service of Russia. Poland was declared a Russian province, and its liberties were utterly extinguished. The Poles, whether innocent or guilty, were treated as criminals. Thousands of them were yearly banished to Siberia. The persecution of Roman Catholics and Jews was cruel in the extreme.

In the meantime trouble had arisen between the Sultan and his chief vassal, Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt. Ibrahim, the son of the latter, conquered Syria and advanced into Asia Minor. When the Sultan's last army was destroyed in December, 1832, he was obliged to invoke the aid of the Czar. A Russian fleet appeared before Constantinople. A treaty was then made under French influence, by which the Sultan yielded Syria and part of Asia Minor to his vassal. A treaty of alliance was made in 1833, which in fact placed Turkey in absolute dependence upon Russia. It gave the control of the Dardanelles to Russia. But the other Powers refused to recognize the treaty and sought to diminish Russian influence in the East. In view of the probable demise of "the sick man," as Turkey was called, Nicholas visited England in 1844, and tried to secure some plan of joint action in partition of his estate, but was not successful.

In 1848 the revolutionary spirit which the Czar passionately abhorred, again convulsed Europe. He strengthened his own army and watched the progress of events. When Hungary rose against the Hapsburgs and proclaimed its independence, he felt that Poland would soon follow this example. Therefore, when the Austrian armies were unable to

overcome the Magyars, he sent his own soldiers to their aid. By this armed intervention Hungary was subjugated. The Czar also joined with the Austrian Emperor in demanding from Turkey the surrender of the Hungarian leaders who had sought refuge in its borders.

Alexander I. had said to Napoleon at Tilsit in regard to Constantinople and the Bosphorus, "I must have the key that unlocks the door of my house." That feeling was fully inherited by Nicholas. He persisted in his aggressions on the failing Ottoman Empire. In 1853 he proposed to Sir Henry Seymour, the British ambassador, a plan for the division of the sick man's inheritance. Disputes arose between France and Russia in regard to the rights of the Latin and Greek Churches in certain sacred places in Palestine. The Czar claimed a protectorate over all Greek Christians in Turkey. The Porte rejected this claim, and a Russian army entered the Danubian principalities. The Sultan declared war in October, 1853. The Turkish fleet was destroyed at Sinope. In March, 1854, England and France declared war against Russia, and Sardinia, under the guidance of Count Cavour, joined the alliance. The Russian army crossed the Danube and besieged Silistria, but after having lost 30,000 men, withdrew in June.

In September the combined fleets of England and France entered the Black Sea, and landed the allied armies in the Crimea. On the 20th of that month the Russians were defeated in the battle of Alma, losing 2000 killed and 2700 wounded, while the allies lost 600 killed and 2600 wounded. The siege of Sebastopol was quickly commenced, but the city was defended with unexpected skill and obstinacy. In the battle of Balaklava, on October 25th, the glory and disasters were equally divided. At Inkermann, on November 5th, a Russian force of 50,000 men was defeated by an allied force of only 16,000. It had been expected in England that there would be a naval war, chiefly in the Baltic, but the fleet had found the fortifications of Cronstadt too strong for attack. When his dominions were invaded, Nicholas grimly said, with recollection of Napoleon's invasion, he had yet "two powerful generals, General January and General February."

These two forces did wreak their vengeance on the besieging army in the trenches before Sebastopol. But Nicholas lay on his death-bed disappointed and heart-broken. His mind remained vigorous, but his bodily frame gave way under the accumulation of responsibilities.

The dying Nicholas said to his son Alexander, "You know that the welfare of Russia has been the sole end of all my solicitude and all my efforts." In his will he declared, "I die filled with ardent love for our glorious Russia, which I have served with all my soul, with faith and sincerity. I regret that I have not been able to do all the good I so sincerely desired." He expired on February 19, 1855. This date in the old style, used in Russia, corresponds to March 3d, in the reformed calendar.

Nicholas I. in his prime was considered the handsomest man in Europe. By his marriage with the beautiful Princess Louisa Charlotte he had four sons and three daughters, and the whole family was pronounced the handsomest that ever lived. Like his brother Alexander, Nicholas had a profound admiration for Napoleon. He was a brave soldier, and had strong liking for military affairs. He was not a great general, but he knew how to choose good generals. Throughout his career he was actuated by a strong sense of duty. He lived and died in harness. He never bestowed a thought on his comfort as a man, when it came in conflict with what he considered due to his dignity as the Czar. In court circles he was very reserved, so that a mere nod of recognition was highly prized by his nobles. The deepest stain on his character was his love of despotism. The results of his aggressive wars were entirely out of proportion to the efforts employed. His system of waging war, by unlimited sacrifice of soldiers, and his relentless punishment of rebels, have given him a terribly ferocious character. Yet those who saw him in his country palace with his family praise his affability and amiable manners. But his high sense of responsibility as ruler of the vast empire of Russia and the guide of her destinies, his strong religious belief, and the homage paid to him by his people, combined to force him into the aggressive, vindictive, cruel and bloody acts of his career.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

The invasion of the Crimea was finally resolved on in a council held at Varna on the 21st of July, 1854, by the generals of the French, English and Turkish armies. On the 14th of September 500 ships landed the expeditionary troops near Eupatoria; on the 20th the battle of the Alma opened to them the way to Sebastopol. This was a thunderbolt to Russia. Since 1812 no enemy had landed on her soil; the Crimea, protected by a formidable fleet, impregnable fortresses and a numerous army, seemed secure from all attacks. Now the army was beaten, and the Black Sea fleet, which had retreated to the harbor of Sebastopol, served only to obstruct the channel. Sebastopol itself was so badly protected and armed—at least on the land side—that many officers still think that a bold march of the allies on Sebastopol would have made them masters of the town.

When, however, the first moment's surprise had passed, the Russians set to work. In a few days they repaired years of carelessness or official peculation. Townsfolk, soldiers and sailors labored at the earthworks. In a very short time, thanks to their marvelous activity, the stony soil of the Chersonnesus was raised in redoubts, and in ramparts crowned with fascines. The bastions of the Centre, of the Mast, of the two Redans, and of the Malakof, all afterwards so celebrated, bristled with guns taken from the navy. Fourteen or fifteen thousand sailors, all eager to avenge the ruin of the fleet, came to reinforce the garrison. Admirals Kornilof, Istomine and Nakhimof, who were all three to die on the bastion of the Malakof, directed the defense. The allies had marched on the port of Balaklava, which they had captured. They took up a position on the south of Sebastopol, investing at the same time both the town and the Karabelnaïa, and getting supplies by the ports of Kamiesch and Balaklava. On the northern side, the beleaguered place communicated freely, by the bridges over the great harbor, with the Russian field-army, and could continually receive reinforcements and supplies. It was less a city besieged by an army than two armies intrenched opposite each other and keeping all their communications. Many times the allies were interrupted in their labors by the field-army; and they had to give battle at Balaklava (October 25th), at Inkermann (November 5th), and at Eupatoria (February 17th). Whilst the allies dug trenches, bored mines, and multiplied their

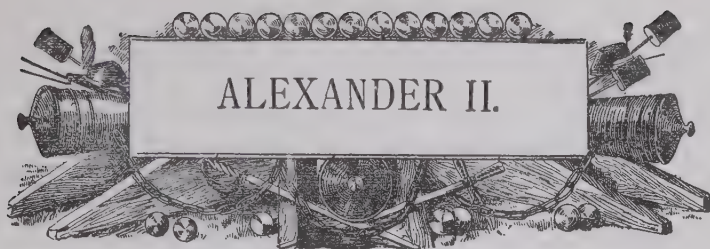
batteries, the Russian engineers, directed by Todleben, strengthened the town fortifications, and built new ones—Transbalkan, Selinghinsk, Volhyne and Kamschatka (White Works, Green Mamelon)—under the enemy's fire. The allies, in spite of the hardships of a severe winter, established themselves more and more firmly, braving in a corner of the Crimea all the forces of the empire of the Czar.

On the day of the 26th of December, 1825, Nicholas had been consecrated in the blood of conspirators, the armed apostle of the principle of authority, the exterminating angel of the counter-revolution. This position he had held for thirty years, not without glory. He had subdued the Polish, Hungarian and Roumanian revolutions, and prevented Prussia from yielding to the seductions of the German revolution and to the appeals of disaffection in Holstein. He had, if not humiliated, at least troubled the French revolution in all its legal phases—July royalty, republic and empire. He had saved the Austrian empire, and hindered the creation of a democratic German empire. He stationed himself wherever the contrary principle made its appearance. People surnamed him the Don Quixote of autocracy; like Cervantes' hero, he possessed a chivalrous, generous and disinterested spirit, but, like him, too, he represented a worn-out principle in a new world. His part as chief of a chimerical Holy Alliance became more visibly an anachronism day by day. Since 1848 particularly, the aspirations of the people were in direct contradiction with his theories of patriarchal despotism. This opposition was apparent all through Europe. The Czar's prestige began to suffer. In Russia he still contrived to sustain it; his successes in Turkey, Persia, the Caucasus, Poland and Hungary, and the apparent deference of the European princes, permitted him to play his part of Agamemnon among kings. Russia hoped to indemnify herself for her internal submission by her external greatness. People forgot to exclaim at the interference of the police, at the fetters imposed on the press, at the intellectual isolation of Russia, and they renounced the control of government, diplomacy, war and administration. The hard-working monarch, they thought, would foresee all, watch over all and bring all to a happy conclusion. The men with liberal "aspirations," the discontented and critical spirits, were not listened to. In reply to the objections timidly expressed by a few, was urged the monarch's success. It seemed to justify absolute confidence and relinquishment of themselves to the government.

The disasters in the East caused a terrible awakening. The invincible fleets of Russia were forced to take refuge in the ports or to retreat into the harbor of Sebastopol. The army was vanquished at the Alma by the allies, at Silistria by the much-despised Turks. Fifty thousand Westerns installed under Sebastopol insulted the majesty of the empire; the allies of old had failed: Prussia was passive; Austria a traitor. The silence of the press had during thirty years favored the thefts of the employees; the fortresses and the armies had been ruined beforehand by administrative corruption. The nation had expected everything of the government, and the Crimean war appeared as an immense bankruptcy of autocracy: the absolute and patriarchal monarchy was overwhelmed by the culmination of its liabilities, the collapse of its expectations, ruined by the Anglo-French invasion, and handed in its schedule. The greater men's hopes had been—the more people expected the conquest of Constantinople, the upheaval of the East, the extension of the Slav empire, the deliverance of Jerusalem—the harder and more cruel was the awakening. Then a vast movement was felt in Russia. Tongues were unloosed, and in default of the press an immense manuscript literature was secretly distributed. The government was pelted with unexpected charges, accusing the emperor, the ministers, the administration, the diplomatists, the generals, every one at once.

More than once, towards the end of his life, the Czar was seized with doubts, but this advocate of absolute power could not make atonement. "My successor," he said, "may do what he will: I cannot change." He could not change, he could only disappear. He was a man of another age, an anachronism in the new Europe. When, from his villa at Peterhof, he could follow the manœuvres of the enemy's fleet; when he heard raised against him the voice of the hitherto silent nation, then this proud heart bled,—the "iron Emperor" was broken. He longed to die!

In February, 1855, having already severe influenza, he went out without his great-coat, on a very cold day. His physician, Karrel, tried to restrain him. "You have fulfilled your duty," replied the Emperor, "let me do mine." Other imprudences aggravated his illness. He gave his last instructions to his heir, and himself dictated the dispatch which he sent to all the great towns of Russia—"The Emperor is dying." On February 19th (March 3rd, new style), 1855, he died.—A. RAMBAUD.



COMING to the throne of Russia before the close of the disastrous Crimean War, Alexander II. had attained the age of thirty-seven years, and his well-known liberal, amiable character raised high anticipations for the welfare of the mighty empire whose destinies depended on him. That these anticipations were not completely fulfilled, and that the character of his rule underwent considerable reactionary change proved the extreme difficulty of the task he had undertaken. In spite of all his reforms, accomplished and attempted, this noble emperor fell a victim to the unsparing Nihilists.

Alexander Nikolaievich Romanoff was born at Moscow, in the Kremlin, on April 29, 1818. His early education was conducted under the supervision of his father, Nicholas I. The boy, naturally mild, clung more fondly to his gentle mother. When but five years old he was placed in charge of General Morder, assisted by the poet Zukovsky and the priest Paffsky. His instruction was very varied. The young prince learned the classics, though superficially; he also learned to speak French and German fluently. His favorite studies seem to have been drawing and music. Baron Brunnow and Count Speranski instructed him in Russian law and diplomacy, while Adam Mickiewicz, the Polish poet, gave him lessons in Polish. Nicholas I. undertook to instill into his son's mind the principles of absolute government. Zukovsky, in speaking of his young charge, said, "For thirteen years I have been with him daily, and have long been convinced that his heart is in the right place, and where he can do a good deed he does it cheerfully." At fourteen years of age Alexander was appointed a subaltern in the guards. At sixteen he became first aide-de-camp to the Czar, and colonel-commandant of the

Russian regiment of lancers of the guards. On the 4th of May, 1834, he became of age, and he took the oath of succession. This oath bound the future ruler of Russia to preserve the inviolability of the empire, to maintain all the rights of autocracy, and to guard the order of succession. Alexander did not assume the title of Czarovich until the death of his uncle, Constantine, who always jealously retained it. In 1837 the prince was sent on a tour through the Russian empire, in order to familiarize him with his own country. Subsequently he visited Great Britain, Germany and Italy. In his travels he was accompanied by Prince Lieven. On the death of Lieven, Count Orlof, who signed the treaty of Paris in 1814, and again in 1856, was deputed governor of the prince. At the age of twenty-three Alexander married Wilhelmine Maximiliane Marie, daughter of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, Louis II. As was customary on joining the Greek Church, she assumed the name of Maria Alexandrovna. Alexander had been raised in succession to all the highest dignities of the empire. He had been a member of the Imperial Council, commander-in-chief of the guards and grenadiers, supreme chief of the military schools, chief curator of the military hospital at Tchesnie, and chancellor of the University of Finland. In this latter capacity he took especial pleasure, adding to the University a professorship of the Finnish language and literature, hitherto wanting; under his patronage the Academy of Finnish literature was founded, with the object of searching through the national records, and popularizing the treasures discovered in them. He defrayed at his own cost several expeditions: Castren, Wallen, Kellgren and many others justified the confidence placed in them by the marvellous results of their travels.

In 1849 the Czarovich traveled through Russia to inspect the military schools. The Nihilist Golovin, in speaking of this tour, says: "It displayed his systematic mind; and that he looked at education in a moral, intellectual and physical point of view." The Czar's reply to a report which his son forwarded him on completing the inspection, ended: "I thank you from my heart for the paternal care you are taking to bring up the youth entrusted to you in a true Russian and

Christian spirit." In 1850, on an extended tour to the Caucasus, he took part in the desultory warfare against the Circassians, which had been carried on for forty years. He assisted in the defeat of the Lesghian leader, Schamyl. By the recommendation of the Governor General, Prince Voron-zof, the Cross of St. George, fourth class, as a reward for distinguished bravery, was bestowed alike on officers and privates.

On the death of Nicholas I., in March, 1855, Alexander II. ascended the throne amidst the horrors of a disastrous war. No prince ever mounted a throne under more trying circumstances. England and France had now, without a declaration of war, been joined by Sardinia. The allied forces were encamped on Russian territory, other nations had intimated their intention of joining them. The ports of Russia were blockaded, commerce paralyzed, agriculture had been neglected, national credit almost gone, and the country on the verge of ruin. The allied fleet could plainly be seen from the windows of the Imperial Palace. With a whole nation at his back, Alexander's policy could not be expected to run counter to its prejudices. He found the war commenced on his accession to the throne, and he must perforce continue it if he wished to retain his own position. He may deeply deplore the horror of war, and foresee the fearful consequences it will entail on his nation; but even an autocrat cannot do everything he pleases, as Nicholas I. had discovered on more than one occasion. A writer at this period says: "Alexander will follow and remain true to the policy of his ancestors, and will carry on the war, undoubtedly to the last man and the last ruble." The late Czar had told his successor that if he found it necessary to make concessions to the allies for the sake of peace, not to be deterred by the fear of disgrace, for the disgrace, if any, would fall on his memory and not on his son, who had done nothing to bring on the war. The cry of the Russian press and people was, however, "No peace so long as the dead of Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol are unavenged." A peace conference was held in Vienna. In addressing the diplomatic corps, the new Emperor said: "I assure you that I remain faithful to all my father's sentiments,

and shall persevere in the course of political principles which were adhered to by my uncle Alexander and my father. These principles are those of the Holy Alliance. If that alliance no longer exists, it was certainly not the fault of my father. His intentions were always just and honorable, and if latterly some have misunderstood them, I have no doubt that God and history will do him justice. I am ready to sign the agreement that he accepted. Like him, I wish for peace, and wish to see an end to the evils of war; but if the conferences about to open at Vienna do not produce an honorable result for us, then at the head of my faithful Russia, I will continue the struggle." The negotiations for peace at Vienna came to nothing. In September, 1855, Sebastopol fell. After a brave and desperate resistance of eleven months the brave garrison abandoned the beleaguered city, a heap of blood-stained ruins, to the allies. The French engineers blew up everything that the Russian fire and the allied bombardment spared. The docks, which were the most magnificent in the world, having cost \$25,000,000, were destroyed. In the Crimean war Russia had lost 250,000 men. The Russians, however, had been as successful in Asia as they were unfortunate in Europe. Their operations in Georgia and Turkish Armenia were crowned with success. On November 28, 1855, Kars surrendered to General Mouravief, the garrison having been forced by starvation to capitulate. On January 16, 1856, Alexander II. accepted the preliminaries of peace. The Congress for its settlement held its session in Paris, and the treaty was signed by Count Orlof on March 30th. By the terms of this treaty, Russia gave up a narrow strip of land which excluded her from the Danube; she also relinquished the fortresses gained for her in the last century by the celebrated Suwarrow. The Delta of the Danube was made over to Turkey. Another condition adverse to Russia was the limitation of her fleet in the Black Sea to four ships of war.

To balance these losses, Russia had no indemnity to pay, and all land conquered by both sides had to be restored. The privileges which Russia had previously secured for the two provinces, now Roumania, were re-asserted, and except a small tribute, they were virtually made independent of Turkey. It

is now universally admitted that the Crimean war was a great political mistake. Not a single surviving result remains, except the blow it gave to Conservatism, and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 with the changes it produced.

When peace once more reigned, on the 7th of September, 1856, in the Cathedral of the Assumption, in the ancient city of Moscow, Alexander II. was crowned. Every nation in Europe sent a special embassy to assist at the coronation, or as it is termed in Russia, "the Consecration." Count Von Moltke accompanied the Crown Prince of Prussia to Moscow as the King's representative. Concerning Alexander, Moltke wrote, "He makes a very pleasing impression on me. He has not the statuesque beauty nor the marble rigidity of his father, but is an extremely handsome majestic man. He appeared worn, and I could perceive that events had impressed a gravity upon his noble features, which contrasts strongly with the kind expression of his large eyes. . . . He seemed to feel the whole significance of the festival, not because of its extraordinary splendor, but in spite of it." On the coronation the impending emancipation of the serfs was announced to the marshals of the nobles by their sovereign. "Serfdom is doomed," said Alexander II., "and it is better that this necessary reform should come from above than from below." The conspirators of 1825 were pardoned, the populace were promised four years exemption from conscription, military colonies were abolished, Russian ports were opened to foreign mercantile marine without restriction, the tax on foreign passports to leave Russia was abolished, the law which limited to three hundred the students in the universities was repealed, and the Czar founded a benefit fund to pension aged men of both branches of the national service.

In arranging the emancipation of the serfs, the government had to face the reactionists, the discontented landowners, the agitators and the impatient serfs, and to make as just a compromise as possible between opposite interests. Many of the nobles dreaded lest the enormous uneducated serf population should at once turn on the upper class. The threatening attitude of these and of the self-constituted advocates of the rights of the people alarmed more timid hearts

in the imperial family. The Empress-mother and the reigning Empress conjured the Emperor to be content with the law passed by the Emperor Paul. Alexander II. observed that although the nobles objected to the emancipation now, they would eventually find it advantageous to them. "Slavery," said he, "demoralizes the master as much as the slave." The serfs on the imperial domains were freed in February, 1860. On the 3rd of March, 1861, that famous edict was passed by which forty million slaves became free citizens. The serfs, in short, besides the rights of free men and municipal self-government, received their lands and cabins in perpetuity, at fixed rents, in either money or labor, for a term of years. The emancipation cost the country five hundred million dollars in compensation to the land-owners.

Alexander II. did not stop here. Soldiers' children were no longer compelled to become soldiers, and the salaries of officials were raised throughout the empire, in the hope of checking bribery. In 1863 corporal punishments were abolished, and a new code of laws published, which included trial by jury. In 1864 the courts of justice were reformed; and new schools opened in every district. These innovations displeased the nobles. At an assembly it was formally moved that the Czar should be asked to abdicate in favor of his eldest son. Regicide was openly recommended. But the disunion of classes in Russia was suddenly checked by the common danger of war against united Europe, as an ally of the rebels in Poland.

In 1862, a rebellion broke out at Warsaw, and its spirit quickly spread throughout Poland. The emancipation of the serfs in Russia was undoubtedly the direct cause of this insurrection. Alexander II. had governed Poland through the enlightened Prince Gortchakof, the previous viceroy, with as much mildness as possible. The freedom of the individual was carefully guaranteed, public instruction, finance and judicial institutions obtained the desired encouragement and improvements. All this was received with an obstinate ill-will. When the serfs of Russia were freed, the Polish aristocracy resolved to oppose at all hazards a reform which must sweep away the feudal privileges they enjoyed. Deserting

their past principles, they encouraged the cosmopolitan revolution which was brewing in anticipation of such a reform. On January 23, 1862, the signal was given to rise against Russia. Polish officials and Russian residents were assassinated. The Grand Duke Constantine was struck by a bullet on the neck. Generals Luders and Trepoff were both wounded and many Russians of inferior rank, besides Poles in the Russian service, were murdered. General Mouravief was placed at the head of Russian troops in Poland and the insurrection was battled with great severity. England, France, Italy, Spain and Austria all addressed notes of remonstrance to Russia, and persuaded Turkey to do the same. The Powers urged on the Czar the necessity of restoring the constitution granted by Alexander I. Alexander II. replied, "How can I give a constitution to subjects in revolt, which I have not granted to loyal ones?" At last the rebellion was crushed. Its leaders paid the death penalty; the estates of disaffected nobles were confiscated, and Polish nationality almost extinguished. In 1866 Poland was divided into ten provinces.

On April 24, 1865, the Emperor received a severe blow by the death of his son and heir. The Czarovich succumbed to an attack of inflammation of the spine, which extended to the brain. Almost simultaneously with his decease the news arrived from America of the assassination of President Lincoln. Prince Gortchakof at once telegraphed a message of condolence, and on May 16th sent a letter to the American ambassador. "Scarcely had my august master," he wrote, "returned to his dominion, when he ordered me to tell you of his grief at this painful event. Tried himself by a mournful loss, which is also a cause of national mourning for Russia, the Emperor joins in the unanimous regrets which encircle the memory of the eminent statesman snatched away so suddenly and in so terrible a manner from his noble career. His Imperial Majesty requests me to transmit to you in his name the assurance of his deep sympathy with the family of the late Mr. Lincoln, and with his Excellency President Johnson."

In 1867 the Czar paid a visit to Emperor Napoleon III., at Paris. He was met in the French capital by the King and Crown Prince of Prussia, and the King and Queen of the

Belgians. Prince Bismarck was also present. On the 23d of January, 1874, the Czar's only surviving daughter was married to the Duke of Edinburgh. The same year he visited England and was received everywhere with enthusiasm by his late foe.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 was the sequence to the Crimean War. The law for the amelioration of her Christian subjects, which the treaty of 1856 had compelled Turkey to put forth, remained a dead letter; and a series of insurrections in the Turkish provinces had continued from that period till 1876, mainly from the want of the protection and justice which the law professed to secure to all the vassals of the Porte. Yet, except in Syria, in 1860, no Power in Europe but Russia paid any attention to the matter, unless to assist Turkey to put down these revolts. Turkey now asserted her supremacy of Montenegro, which neither Russia nor Montenegro had ever admitted during four hundred years, and claimed a right to deal with her Christian subjects as she chose, in spite of reiterated treaties with the Czars. The gallant Montenegrans would have perished to a man if left to bear the weight of the Turkish Empire alone; yet every Power in Europe would have left them to bear it. Servia in like manner would have been crushed by her suzerain. Alexander II. did all he could to avert war, and made every attempt to procure the collective action of Europe. He shared the national sympathy with the Slavonic races under the dominion of the crafty Turk, and he determined to champion their cause. On the 23d of April the declaration of war was read to the troops in the Emperor's presence. The Russo-Turkish war did not produce results proportionate to its enormous cost of money and men, yet Russia had the satisfaction of knowing that the mortifying restriction as to the Black Sea had become a dead letter, and that the Danubian provinces were removed from the destructive rule of the Ottoman Porte.

On March 13, 1881, the whole civilized world was startled by the report, which proved only too well founded, that Alexander II. had at last fallen a victim to Nihilist assassins. For years the Czar's footsteps had been dogged, and his life

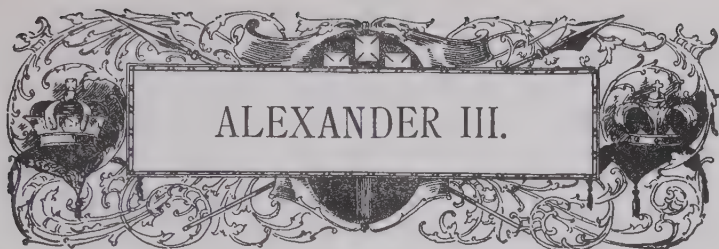
menaced in every possible way. This was the sixth direct attempt that had been made on the life of the most tender-hearted ruler of Russia. The first took place in St. Petersburg in 1866; the second in Paris, when the Czar was visiting Napoleon III. The third was in April, 1879; the Czar, while walking unattended, was shot at four times, but escaped unhurt. In December of the same year a railroad train, conveying the Czar, was blown up by a mine in the suburbs of Moscow, but none of the imperial party were injured. In the following February (1880) a mine was sprung under the guard-room of the Winter Palace. Ten of the guard were killed and over forty were wounded. But the pillars which supported the imperial dining-room remained firm, and none of the royal guests then assembled were hurt.

That the Czar, beset by reckless assassins, managed to avoid so long the death that threatened him testifies to the vigilance with which he was guarded; but the murder in the end was startling evidence of the relentless and persistent power of the Nihilists. One of the most remarkable phases of Nihilism is its perfect organization and its far-reaching ramifications. Alexander's every movement was watched. Sophie Peroffskava, a woman of good family, who had access to official circles, kept the conspirators well informed of the Emperor's daily plans. She was enabled to announce that he was going to inspect a marine corps in company with his brother, Duke Michael, and it was at once decided that the attempt should be made as his majesty drove back to the Winter Palace. Sophie Peroffskava drew plans of the route, and marked the spot where the conspirators were to wait; and she herself agreed to take up a conspicuous position and to signal the Emperor's approach. She took under her especial charge the two men who actually committed the deed. On the signal being given, Risakoff threw the first bomb. It exploded, slightly wounding the horses, shattering the carriage, and killing the Cossack footman who rode behind. The coachman was unhurt, and implored the Emperor to remain in the carriage, but he refused and alighted. Immediately Elnikoff threw his bomb with so true an aim that it fell at the Czar's feet, and both he and his assassin fell to the ground terribly injured. Elnikoff

died soon afterwards, but the Czar lingered in dreadful agony for several hours. His lower limbs and part of his abdomen were torn and shattered. Two women and eight men were subsequently proved to have taken an active part in the tragedy.

Alexander II., personally, was a liberal and humane ruler. He threw open the doors of the empire to the arts, ideas, and civilization of Western Europe. His emancipation of the serfs gained for him the title of Liberator. His reign was signalized by progress and unprecedented material development. The first railway was completed in Russia in 1836; before the end of his reign the mileage had reached more than 14,000 miles. The territory of Asiatic Russia was greatly increased, adding 3,000,000 subjects to the population. The number of students in the universities increased fifty per cent., the number in the high-schools was doubled, while the pupils in the common schools had increased five-fold.





ALEXANDER III.

ALEXANDER III., Emperor of all the Russias, was the second son of Alexander II. and the Princess Maria of Hesse-Darmstadt, and was born on the 10th of March, 1845. During the first twenty years of his life he had no prospect of ascending the throne of the Romanofs. While the greatest care and solicitude were devoted to the education of his elder brother Nicholas, the heir-apparent, Alexander received merely the perfunctory and inadequate education of an ordinary Grand Duke of that period. He attended the university, received instruction in English, French, and German, and also a military training. Alexander showed no enthusiasm either for study or drill and discipline. Among his professors the only one who obtained a lasting influence over him was M. Pobyedonostsef, who instilled into his mind that zeal for Greek orthodoxy which forms an essential factor in Russian patriotism. Whether he suggested that this zeal should be carried to the extent of persecuting the adherents of other religions it is impossible to prove. The Czarovitch Nicholas died at Nice on the 24th of August, 1865. On his death bed he expressed the wish that his affianced bride, Maria Sophia Fredrika Dagmar, daughter of King Christian IX., of Denmark, should marry Alexander, and the wish was realized on the 9th of November, 1866. On her admission to the Greek Church she took the name of Maria Feodorovna.

In 1875 began the Slavophil agitation, which fomented the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina, produced the Turko-Servian war, provoked the "Bulgarian atrocities," and terminated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-'78. Like the great majority of his countrymen, the Czarovitch Alexander sympathized to some extent with the movement, but he took no active part in the agitation. He could not approve of the

means employed by some of the more excited and noisy agitators. In the Turko-Russian war Alexander saw some active service. He was in command of the left wing of the invading army, which assaulted the Turks in their strongholds at Rustchak, Rusgrad, and Shumla. In September he would doubtless have sustained a disastrous defeat but for the careless generalship of the Turkish commanders, Mehemet Ali and Fuad Pasha. During the campaign in Bulgaria the Czarovitch had found by some painful experiences that grave disorders and gross corruption existed in the army administration, and after his return to St. Petersburg he discovered that similar abuses existed in the naval department. For these abuses several high officials, amongst others two of the Czar's brothers, were believed to be in part responsible. The Czarovitch ventured to call his father's attention to the subject, but his representations were not very favorably received. Alexander II. had by this time lost much of the reforming zeal which distinguished the first decade of his reign, and had no longer the energy required for undertaking the task which his son suggested to him. He must have long suspected that the graver charges were not without some foundation, but he shrank from probing the wound, and the only practical result of the Czarovitch's action was that his relations with his two uncles became strained, and his relations with his father were far from cordial.

Alexander II. was assassinated on March 13, 1881. In the death of that ruler one thing stands indisputable: the party which, while professing principles of universal brotherhood, terrorized the world by using dynamite, committed the greatest of its many crimes by killing him who had used his autocratic power for restoring the rights of human dignity to twenty-two millions of human beings. The Czar's power is a "despotism tempered by assassination," and also by the will of a controlling portion of the people. Such it has been at least since the death of Peter the Great. Alexander I. was peace-loving, Nicholas I. a domestic tyrant, Alexander II. a good-natured and timid ruler, but not one of them was strong enough to resist a war-pressure emanating from the restlessness of the army and the people.

In person the Czar Alexander III. was powerfully built, strong and muscular; in his younger days he was able to bend a bar of iron across his knees, or to burst in a strong door with his shoulder. He had certainly not much in common with his liberal-minded, kind-hearted, and well-intentioned father, Alexander II., and still less with his refined, philosophic, chivalrous grand-uncle, Alexander I. With high culture, exquisite refinement, polished manners, he had no sympathy and never affected to have any. His usual manner was cold, constrained, even churlish.

On the day following his father's death, Alexander III., at the age of thirty-six, was proclaimed Emperor of all the Russias. He found Russia exhausted by foreign wars and honeycombed by conspiracies. The Nihilists, elated at the success of their nefarious plot in the murder of the late Czar, issued a pamphlet warning the new ruler, that should he follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, he might expect a similar fate. They demanded a full pardon for their imprisoned comrades, the election of a legislative assembly by universal suffrage and a constitution. This intimidation and these demands had the reverse effect on the new Czar from what was intended by the "Brotherhood." In April Alexander III. published a manifesto, from which it was distinctly understood that he had no intention of weakening or limiting the autocratic power which he had inherited from his ancestors. Nor did he afterwards show any inclination to change his mind. On the very day of his death Alexander II. had taken an important step towards introducing into his Empire a constitutional régime, by signing a ukase convoking an assembly of the Notables. For some time he had hesitated between strengthening the hands of the administration, and making concessions to the political aspirations of the educated classes, and he had finally decided in favor of the latter course. The first step in this direction was the ukase mentioned. But Alexander III., on the tragic death of his father, cancelled the ukase before it was published. In seeking to increase autocratic power, Alexander III. was merely following the ordinary course of Russian modern history, he adopted a reactionary policy, and seemed animated by the desire to

revive the personal régime of his grandfather, the Emperor Nicholas I.

He retained in office the conservative ministers of Alexander II. General Ignatief was appointed minister of domains, and the procurator of the Holy Synod, M. Pobyedonostsef, his old tutor, was given a seat in the cabinet. The latter, with Michael Katkof, had secretly prepared the Czar's manifesto which announced his future policy. On its publication the liberal ministers at once tendered their resignations. Alexander III. struggled hard to suppress existing abuses. He appointed a committee to examine into the official corruption which he was fully aware existed on all sides. Large portions of valuable public lands had been appropriated by officials. In the autumn of 1881, Valusef, a Privy-Councillor, who for over nine years had held the office of minister of domains, was dismissed, and several other high officials were treated in like manner. The Czar devoted particular attention to the financial administration, and gave an example of retrenchment by cutting down the civil list and the sums allotted to the numerous members of the imperial family. He was fortunate enough to find in this department several able coadjutors, and there is no doubt that a certain improvement was effected. He abolished the office of Justice of the Peace, and clipped the feeble wings of the Zemstvo, a kind of elective local administration. An attempt was made at re-introducing manorial rights. The redemption taxes imposed on the liberated serfs were reduced. At the same time the Czar sought to strengthen and centralize the imperial administration and to bring it more and more under his personal control. Literature was submitted to a most rigorous censorship, and education to a still closer supervision. On May 27, 1883, Alexander III. was crowned with much pomp and ceremony in the cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow.

In foreign affairs the new Czar showed the same spirit of continuity and tenacity which he displayed in his home policy. Though firmly determined to maintain the dignity and protect the interests of his country, he was essentially a man of peace. Foreseeing, however, that sooner or later Russia would probably be involved in a great international struggle,

he constantly devoted the greatest attention to the complete reorganization of the army and navy. The attitude of Prince Bismarck at the Berlin Congress of 1880 had been a bitter disappointment to Russia. Germany's defensive alliance with Austria, concluded avowedly and ostentatiously for the purpose of resisting aggressive action on the part of Russia, had increased the popular indignation. In this disappointment and indignation Alexander II., in spite of his strong personal affection for the old Emperor William, had shared, and it was generally assumed that his successor would assume towards Germany an attitude of decided hostility, which might easily lead to an open rupture. These apprehensions were not realized. A few months after his accession, Alexander III. paid a visit to the German Emperor at Dantzic, and it was commonly believed that he showed a desire to renew the old cordial relations which had so long existed between the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. In 1884-85 a temporary rapprochement was effected with Germany and Austria, and competent observers believed that there were indications of a revival of the alliance of the three emperors. Large masses of Russian troops were moved slowly towards the Western provinces, whilst the strategic railways leading to the German and Austrian frontiers were extended and improved. Russian diplomacy explained that these warlike preparations had an essentially defensive character, but there was grave reason to fear that the warlike tendencies of an excited and noisy section of the Russian people might not always be successfully restrained by the Czar's well-known pacific disposition.

In 1885-86 the Czar's pacific disposition was put to a real trial. The party of action in Bulgaria suddenly effected a revolution in Philippopolis, expelled the governor-general, who represented the Sultan, and proclaimed the union of the autonomous province of Eastern Roumelia with the Bulgarian Principality. Prince Alexander, who was at that moment at Varna, hurried to Philippopolis and prepared to resist the entrance of the Turkish troops which were being concentrated near Adrianople. Whilst still heir apparent, Alexander III. had conceived for Prince Alexander a personal dislike, and he considered that his father and the Russian Government

treated him with far too much indulgence. After his accession this feeling of antipathy increased. The prince gave new causes of offence, which tended to confirm the suspicions of his want of loyalty toward his benefactors. He paid very little attention to the friendly counsels transmitted to him from St. Petersburg, and he evidently aimed at emancipating himself entirely from Russian tutelage. He was suspected of having fomented the Unionist movement, and in any case he had accepted the revolution without waiting for instructions. Such insubordination could not be allowed to pass unpunished. The first blow was severe and dexterously aimed, but it missed its mark. At a critical moment, when Bulgaria was threatened on one side by the Turks and on the other by the Servians, the Russian officers who had created and still commanded the Bulgarian army received orders to send in at once their resignations. This it was thought would bring the Prince to his knees, but the expected consequences did not ensue. European diplomacy restrained the Turks, and the Bulgarian army, without its Russian officers, defeated the Servians at Slivnitza. Accordingly, the breach between the Czar and the Prince widened, until the latter was kidnapped by conspirators and subsequently abdicated. A very cool reception was accorded the Imperial Commissioner, General Kaulbars, who was sent from St. Petersburg to make a tour in Bulgaria for the purpose of receiving the homage of the population and making arrangements for carrying on the government until a new Imperial nominee should be placed on the throne. Stambuloff, who was regarded as the incarnation of the anti-Russian tendencies, remained in power. Alexander III. must have been strongly tempted to put an end to the resistance by force, but he determined not to run the risk of provoking a European war. Even when the Bulgarians elected a new Prince without his consent he remained steadfast to his resolution.

The Czar had undoubtedly French sympathies, awakened by early education and strengthened by his dislike to German influence in Russia, though he was too prudent to ally himself too closely with an impetuous nation. In Central Asian affairs Alexander III. did not strike out any new line

of his own. He merely followed the traditional policy of gradually extending Russian domination without provoking a conflict with England. During his reign a considerable advance was made towards the Indian frontier, and at one moment, in 1886, when the Afghans were attacked at Penjdeh, a great war seemed imminent. Fortunately, by the coolness and moderation displayed on both sides, the struggle was averted, and there is no doubt that the Czar used his personal influence on the occasion in favor of an amicable solution.

The greatest stain on his reign was the course followed by his government in persecuting all who did not profess the orthodox faith. Roman Catholic and Baptist churches and Jewish synagogues were closed up or torn down and their members persecuted with ruthless cruelty and unrelenting perseverance. An edict was issued which made it a penal offence to practice primitive Christianity. The Dukhobortzi or Caucasus Christians were beaten, whipped and ridden down, brutal Cossacks were quartered upon them, who allowed themselves every license with these helpless people, and everything they did was with the consent of their officers. Men who, on account of religious scruples, refused military service, were tortured and at last expelled from their homes.

The year 1891 was, in Russia, a year of persecution, famine, and financial difficulties. All Jews who had bought landed property since 1882 were to dispose of it within six months, the government buying it at a low valuation should no other bidder be found. All the wealthiest Jewish families at once left the country, taking with them all their portable riches. This made a great difference in money circulation, and, coupled with the failure of crops in the Volga districts, brought poverty and famine to the land. In 1892 large supplies of wheat, flour, and provisions were transmitted for the relief of the starving people by the citizens of Philadelphia, and from Minnesota. That the decrees for the expulsion of the Jews were issued with the full knowledge and approval of the Czar there can be no question, although for the barbarous incidents by which their execution was accompanied some of his officers were doubtless mainly responsible.

Alexander III. died at Livadia on the 1st of November,

1894, from Bright's disease. His splendid physique resisted long, and it was only when blood-poisoning set in that he succumbed to the destroyer. He was a large, stout, slow-moving man, disliking noise and violent exercise. He wished to be disturbed as little as possible, and gave preference to the officials who avoided troubling him with suggestions of reform. When William II. came to the German throne his zealous activity annoyed the Czar, who allowed the Emperor's unwelcome early visit long to pass unreturned. Other acts of neglect tended to neutralize the effects of Bismarck's Russian alliance. It was the mission of this sluggish monarch to preserve the peace of Europe for thirteen years. His fixed determination seems to have been to make Russia truly Slav and not German. He was generally regarded as the typical autocrat, the persecutor of Jews, Roman Catholics, and dissenters from the Greek Church. During his reign the fixed privileges of the Baltic provinces and Finland, which his predecessors had maintained, were greatly curtailed in spite of solemn coronation oaths. The liberal classes throughout Europe regarded Alexander III. almost with hatred. Yet he was scrupulously honest, had no unworthy favorites of either sex, and was imbued with a high sense of a divine mission. The chief delight of his life was in his family. None but those who saw him there could realize what a simple, kindly, affectionate nature was concealed behind the severe exterior presented to the world. Alexander greatly enjoyed his visits to Denmark, where, free from pomp and care, he could indulge his simple tastes. Even his mother-in-law's sharp criticisms of his government are said to have added zest to his pleasure. Alexander left three sons—Nicholas, George, and Michael—and two daughters—Xenia and Olga. Since Nicholas succeeded to the throne George died of consumption, and Michael has been declared the heir, should Nicholas have no male offspring.

THE POWER BEHIND THE RUSSIAN THRONE.

There are two classes of fanatics, the cold and the hot—that is, fanatics from reflection and fanatics by temperament. It is easy to know to which class Pobyedonostsev, *Oberprocouror* of the Holy Synod, belongs. His looks betray him. He is old and

of a square build, his nose is pointed, his eyes are sharp and penetrating, he wears spectacles, his forehead is fringed with a few gray hairs, his face is clean-shaven, and his expression is keen. There is no need of a physiognomist to tell us that he is one of those cool, calculating natures whose temperament enables them to steer clear of difficulties, because they are guided by the head and not by the heart. Serious and thoughtful in his manner, he is more like a *savant* than a statesman.

He lives exclusively for the office, which was transferred to him in 1880 on the retirement of Count D. Tolstoi, and for the ideas according to which he administers it. This office, which Tolstoi (Minister of the Interior from 1882 to 1887), had filled for fifteen years, from 1865 to 1880, in conjunction with the Ministry of Public Instruction, is a ministry by itself, and might be defined in Western European terminology as being nearly equivalent to the "Ministry of Public Worship." The *Oberprocouror* of the Synod, as a representative of the Emperor, is invested with full powers, and is the only secular member of the highest ecclesiastical administrative body of the Empire. This institution comprises the metropolitans of Novgorod-St. Petersburg, of Moscow-Kolomna, and of Kiev, and nine bishops and higher clergy who are called upon from time to time. No decree of this institution is valid without the previous approval of the *Oberprocouror* of the Synod; in important cases he appeals to the decision of the Emperor, and sends in his reports directly to him; the ecclesiastic educational establishments (academies and seminaries) of the orthodox faith are under his superintendence and direction, and the parochial consistories depend immediately upon him. He is a member of the ministerial committee and of the imperial council, he stands on an equal footing with the other ministers, and has to be heard on all subjects affecting the State Church directly or indirectly.

The importance of this office, which was instituted by Peter the Great, has always been very great (Galitzin's short period under Alexander I. excepted), but never greater than in the reign of Alexander III. and his successor. Pobyedonostsev, having gained repute as a jurist and as an authority on Russian legislation, was, on the death of the Czarevich Nikolai, in 1865, entrusted with the instruction of Alexander III., who was then twenty, in the principles of Russian public law and administration. Unlike the majority of his colleagues at that time, Pobyedonostsev knew how to impress his august pupil, first by the earnestness and zeal

with which he devoted himself to his duties as an instructor, and secondly by the rigid dogmatism of his political and scientific views. Instead of making things easy and pleasant to himself and his listener, Pobyedonostsev went to work seriously and energetically, and fearlessly emphasized the importance and difficulty of the task which he had undertaken. The important point was that Pobyedonostsev had pressed his extensive historical and juridical knowledge into the service of an idea, the idea, namely, that Absolutism and Orthodoxy, as being divine and founded on history, form the only sound basis for a Russo-Slav state system, and that they are mutually supplementary. Pobyedonostsev has adopted the same methods and made use of the same abstractions as enabled Joseph de Maistre in his day to reconcile the ideas of Popery and legitimism, and to form them into a modern articulated system apparently satisfying the demands of science; he understood how to deck out the famous doctrine of the providential destiny of the Eastern Church to regenerate the heathen West in such a way that it was perfectly manifest to his pupil. The self-confidence and self-surrender of the preacher of this new wisdom were in such marked contrast with the instability of the other systems, which oscillated between Liberalism and Loyalism, that it could not fail to make a permanent impression on a nature which always felt the need of leaning upon authority.

The inexorable logician, whose eye was always directed to the attainable, who never thought of self, never obtruded his own personality, and whose system recommended itself by its grand simplicity—this logician appeared to stand in character as well as in intellect far above those opportunists who were constantly changing their point of view, whose conclusions lay open to the most contradictory explanations, and who above all tried to ingratiate themselves. When it is added that the national garment in which the Orthodoxy of Pobyedonostsev stalked about, corresponded to the inclinations of his august pupil, it will be easily understood why this man immediately obtained an authoritative position which was denied to others. Long recognized as an energetic worker and recommended to the highest position on account of his educational success, Pobyedonostsev was installed in 1880 in one of the two offices which until then had been vested in Tolstoi. Privy-Councillor Saburov, a Liberal imbued with European ideas, was entrusted with the other office: his appointment was strictly in keeping with the contradictory character of the

former reign, and was regarded by its adherents as a "particularly happy solution."

In spite of the regard in which he was held by Alexander III., the new *Oberprocouror* of the Synod had to be satisfied during that emperor's life-time with a subordinate position. Alexander II., even after his liberal enthusiasm had cooled down, remained "European" in his ideas, and, as such, looked askance at all kinds of fanaticism, and especially all religious eccentricities. It had also to be taken into account that the ministry of the interior, which has numerous relations with the Synod from having to transact the affairs of the foreign religions, as well as those of the ancient superstitious beliefs, was at that time in the hands of Loris Melikov, a man who was thoroughly acquainted with the views of his imperial master, and who was neither fitted nor inclined to play the part of the old Russian-Byzantine zealot.

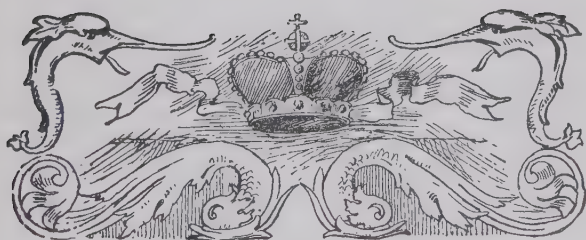
All this was changed when the pupil of Pobyedonostsev ascended the throne. A complete revolution took place when Count Tolstoi, Pobyedonostsev's predecessor, was entrusted with the direction of the ministry of the Interior (May, 1882). Tolstoi had won his first spurs as the author of a violent polemical treatise against Catholicism: he never deviated from the course which he had once taken, and his overmastering idea was that the restoration of strict Orthodoxy formed the essential basis for the renovation and establishment of national absolutism. Pobyedonostsev went hand in hand with him: he began his work of church reform, and, favored by Katkov and his successors, carried it out with extraordinary apparent success. He is the originator of the persecutions of the Catholics and other bodies in Poland, Little Russia and Lithuania. The orders of 1864, by which Alexander II. had allowed religious freedom to children born from mixed marriages in the Baltic provinces, were revoked at his instigation. It is due to him that new Catholic and Protestant churches, even in the Polish and Baltic provinces, can only be built after the previous consent of the Greek-Orthodox bishops of the district; that all missionary activity on the part of Catholics and Protestants, whether at home or abroad, is interdicted under penalty; that dozens of Polish and Livonian priests have been proceeded against or removed on the faintest suspicion, and that processes of this kind are no longer conducted before Catholic and Protestant consistories, but before secular judges, who are influenced by the State. And all this is done with a quiet, pedantically cold rigor, and with the help of

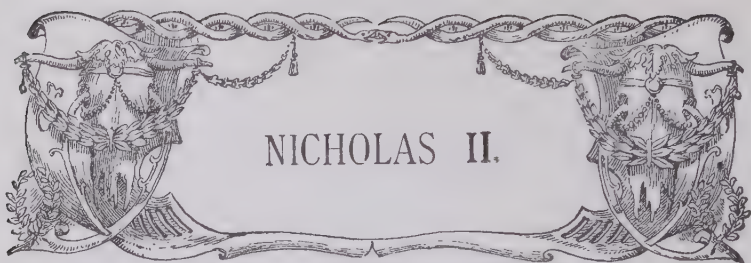
a juridical sophistry, which avoids the appearance of violence as far as possible, but at the same time leaves room for tricks of interpretation, which impose upon the ignorant and captivated Russian masses and the unprincipled press. The doctrine that the end justifies the means has been taken for granted everywhere at all times, and long before the publication of the "Medulla" of Busenbaum by men of Pobyedonostsev's stamp; but the author of the circular to the "Evangelical Alliance" has spoken out with regard to his aims and his blind hostility to the churches of Western Europe with a frankness which has been received with indignation by the whole civilized world.

In private life Pobyedonostsev is quiet, cool, serious and sensible. He takes a certain pride in displaying his knowledge of the most recent legal and theological literature, and in showing his acquaintance with modern thought. He occasionally appeals to the solidarity of interests of all who believe in positive Christianity, and he looks upon disputations with believers of other confessions as important means to mutual advancement. That does not prevent him, however, from using the most violent means, where mere arguments produce no impression, or from pursuing a policy in ecclesiastical matters which differs in no particular from that of the coarse and brutal fanatics of former times.

The *Oberprocuror* of the Synod shows the uprightness of his character, not only by his perfect indifference to external honors and distinctions, and by his integrity and devotion to the service of the State, but by the frankness with which he recognizes in his yearly reports certain failings and faults of the clergy who are placed under him, and notes the alarming increase of superstitious heresies and of heathen, almost Thibetan, idolatries. He holds fast to the conclusion that drastic and fearless measures are more necessary now than ever, and that the propaganda which is the privilege of the State Church, should be used to the uttermost to extirpate all superstitions and heresies. "Standing on the heights of culture," he acts as his reactionary predecessors did before him, with this difference—that these spared themselves the trouble of theological or other reasonings. The means of modern culture, which Pobyedonostsev has at command, serve him simply to furbish up the brutal and monstrous practices which have been handed down to him by his predecessors of the old school—whose severities against sectarians, Catholics and others years ago excited the horror of civilized Russia. The apostles and prophets of Orthodoxy in the time of Nicholas were men of the world

without strong convictions, pleasure-seekers without claims to culture and without religious feeling, officials whose religiosity and morality differed in no respect from those of other people, and laid claim to no pretensions. But Pobyedonostsev is honorable and pious, so honorable and pious that he makes no secret of his bigotry, but retires periodically for a certain time to some cloister or other which is encircled with the odor of special sanctity, in order to be able to devote himself undisturbed to religious exercises and profound meditations.—H. VON SAMSON-HIMMELSTIERNA.





NICHOLAS II., who became Czar of Russia in 1894, is the son of Alexander III., and Maria Feodorovna. He was born at St. Petersburg on the 18th of May, 1868. By the wish of his father he did not receive the course of instruction usually given to an heir-apparent. His studies chiefly embraced modern and constitutional history, modern languages, political and social economy, and the law and administration of Russia. He is an accomplished linguist, speaking fluently, besides his own language, English, French, German, and Italian. In 1891, at the time of the famine in Russia, by his own request, he was made chairman of the Committee of Succor, and worked hard in organizing relief for the starving people. In 1893, he visited England and was received with great enthusiasm.

On the 1st of November, 1894, Nicholas II. was proclaimed Emperor of all the Russias. He followed his father's policy of endeavoring to check corruption and favoritism in the civil service. An imperial ukase was issued depriving all ministers, governors, and other high dignitaries of the power, hitherto freely exercised by them, of appointing or dismissing official subordinates of all classes, and reviving the special committee of control, which existed for a few years during the reign of Nicholas I. The first few weeks of his reign were in striking contrast to that of his predecessor ; he relaxed the censorship of the press, abolished the practice of guarding the lines of railway on the passage of the imperial train, and frequently went on foot and unaccompanied.

On the 9th of November, 1894, Nicholas II. issued a circular to each of the European powers, assuring them of his determination to adhere to his father's pacific policy. On

the 27th of November, he married the Princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt, who on joining the Greek Church took the name of Alexandra Feodorovna. They have had two children, both girls. A deputation of nobles and officials from the kingdom of Poland attended both the funeral of Alexander III. and the wedding of Nicholas II., and they had the opportunity of laying before the authorities a statement as to the tyranny and brutality with which General Gourko had governed the kingdom for twelve years. Gourko was removed from his post shortly after the return of the deputation to Warsaw. With Germany a more friendly feeling was established by the conclusion of a commercial treaty.

In 1895, Nicholas II. seemed to pursue a reactionary policy. On his addressing the Zemstovs or local councils, he said, "It has come to my knowledge that latterly, in some meetings of the Zemstovs, voices have made themselves heard about the participation of their representatives in the general administration of the internal affairs of the state. Let all know that I devote all my strength to the good of my people, but that I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and unflinchingly as did my ever lamented father."

In Poland, too, the hopes excited by the appointment of Count Schouvaloff, whose wife was a Polish lady, as Governor of Warsaw, ended in disappointment. The Count was a great contrast to his predecessor, General Gourko, as regards urbanity of manner, but there was no relaxation in the efforts of the government to suppress the Polish language, and every other manifestation of Polish nationality. In the Armenian question Nicholas II. joined England and France in urging the Sultan to grant reforms to Armenia, but refused to apply any coercion to the Turkish government for this purpose. The Chinese loan of \$80,000,000, which was guaranteed by the Russian government, was mainly subscribed in France.

St. Petersburg may be the seat of the Russian Government, and the means of communication with the West, but Moscow is the abiding home of Russian sentiment and the local centre round which patriotism gathers. To the Russian mind it is the centre of national resistance to their foes. It has been sacrificed to Poles, Tartars and French alike,

but it rises once more with renewed splendor, and dearer for all that it has suffered. Here, on May 26, 1896, Nicholas II. and Alexandra Feodorovna were crowned, in the Cathedral of the Assumption. The fêtes, however, connected with the coronation were marred by a terrible catastrophe. On Saturday, May 30th, the Emperor gave, according to custom, a great festival for the people on the Chodinsky Field. As a prelude there was to be a distribution of 400,000 presents. Early in the morning the expectant crowd rushed to the booths where the distribution was to be made. In the awful crush which ensued nearly 3000 people were suffocated or trampled to death.

On August 25th the Czar and Czarina left St. Petersburg for Vienna on a visit to the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph. On September 5th they visited the German Emperor at Breslau. On September 22d they arrived at Balmoral, on a visit to Queen Victoria. Here they attended the simple service of the Scottish church. On the 5th of the following month they proceeded to Paris.

The Emperor pursued his father's policy, especially with regard to cultivating a friendly feeling with France. France was equally pleased to have Russia as a friend. On the plains of Champagne, at Châlons, 70,000 men were reviewed by the Czar, who made the military salute to every French flag. Wherever he went the Emperor created a very favorable impression. Full of reserve, speaking very little, he admired sufficiently, and did not admire too much. Even a touch of sadness which never forsakes Nicholas II., and the melancholy of his smile, contrived to add something to the emotion of the crowd. People remembered the fearful tragedy of the coronation at Moscow; they called to mind the sudden death in a railway car of Prince Lobanoff, whom the young sovereign had chosen for his companion and his political guide during his journey through Europe. He seemed as if he was attended with the saddest of thoughts. In reply to a toast at the French President's table, at the Elysée, Nicholas II. said, "Faithful to traditions which cannot be forgotten, I have come to France to salute in your person the chief of a nation to which we are united by such precious bonds." Then after

the review at Châlons he said, "France may be proud of its army. You are right in saying so, Mr. President; the two countries are bound by an unalterable friendship." The French alliance was definitely announced on the visit of President Faure to St. Petersburg in 1897.

Whatever may have been the diplomatic results of this tour, it impressed the world with the overwhelming power of Russia. The signing of a treaty by Li Hung Chang gave Russia the right to construct the Siberian Railway across Manchuria, practically bringing Russia to the gates of Peking. Nine hundred and fifty miles of this road are in Chinese territory. During 1896 several distinguished professors of the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, were dismissed on account of "their liberal and progressist views." Nicholas II. has not yet allowed the free expression of one's opinions. It is noted that for the first time in Russian history a census of the population of the Russian Empire was commenced in the beginning of 1897. Nicholas II. now caused considerable alleviation of the rigor of Russian rule towards the Jews, the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, and the Poles. On his visit to Warsaw in September, 1897, he was received on all sides with an outburst of real enthusiasm. The chief concern of Nicholas II., in the war between Turkey and Greece, was to prevent the other Balkan States taking part in it, and thereby producing a European conflagration. A compact with Austria-Hungary having been concluded with this object shortly after the war broke out, the conflict was consequently localized.

On March 27, 1898, an agreement was signed at Peking by which Russia is granted a twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur and Ta-Lien-Wan Bay; as also the right of building railways to these ports. The British ambassador protested against the cession as likely to destroy the balance of power in the East, but China protested her inability to resist Russian demands, and Russia promised that the ports now held by her shall be open to all foreign trade and to the ships of all friendly powers.

In August, 1898, the Czar issued a manifesto proposing mutual disarmament to the various Governments of the world.

Its expressions were so unexpected that many challenged immediately the sincerity of the author, but subsequent events have removed such doubts. The views expressed by Nicholas in his manifesto may thus be briefly stated: That, in the present state of equal armaments and extended fortifications, the great powers of Europe could not settle their disputes without a prolonged war; that no war could be carried on for a prolonged period, because the demands upon the country's resources in men, money, and provisions would be incomparably greater than ever before; that, therefore, statesmen finding that war cannot be effectually invoked to settle international disputes, will be forced to find a new court of last appeal, and dispense with war altogether.

Although the Czar's manifesto was issued under the hand of his Minister of Foreign Affairs, it was his own, inspired by his own conclusions and colored by his own personality. The Czar's character and the influences that have surrounded him throw light on his appeal for peace. There are more traditions of peace in Russia than the popular estimate of Russian character would lead one to suppose. Nicholas II., the present advocate of peace, is the son of Alexander III., "the peace-giver of Europe," and his grandfather, Nicholas I., was long regarded as the chief justice of the Continent. The two most powerful and effective appeals for peace made in this century have come from Russia. The present Czar has said that he hoped he would not only be Nicholas II., but a second Nicholas.

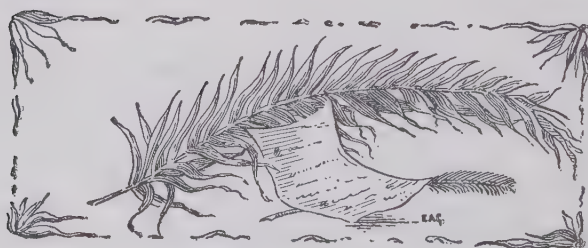
England, Austria, Sweden and Germany each received the Czar's manifesto with distrust. Nevertheless, nine months after its issue the Peace Conference was opened at the Hague. The suggestion that the conference should meet on the Emperor's birthday was a graceful suggestion of the young Queen of Holland. Delegates assembled from nearly thirty governments. The delegates from the United States were Andrew D. White, Ambassador to Germany; Stanford Newel, Minister to the Netherlands; Seth Low, President of Columbia University; William Crozier, Ordnance Department U. S. A.; Captain A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., retired, and Frederick W. Holls, of New York, secretary of the delegation. These are

all distinguished for high scholarship, and are accomplished linguists. It is notable, however, that there was no representative of the Pope, though Leo XIII. had made suggestions to the Czar of such a conference. The omission was due to the Italian government, which would not recognize the temporal power of the Pope.

The Peace Conference was opened on May 18, 1899, in the Huis ten Bosch (House in the Woods), two miles from the Hague. M. de Staal, Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, was elected President. The delegates sent a congratulatory telegram to the Czar. The subjects of the conference were: 1. Disarmament of nations; 2. Laws of war; 3. International arbitration. Each subject was assigned to a separate committee, which reported to the conference. The business was conducted in French. The conference came to an end on July 29th. No agreement was found possible on the first subject, which held the chief place in the Czar's invitation, fixing a limit to the growth of military and naval forces. In regard to the second subject, it was agreed to prohibit the use of explosives from balloons and of bullets that easily expand in the human body. The chief result of the conference was a plan for averting wars by mediation and arbitration. The Powers signing the treaty bind themselves before taking up arms to seek the mediation of a friendly Power. A permanent court is to be organized to be used for the settlement of international disputes, but there is no compulsion to resort to this court.

On May 19, 1899, the same day that the Peace Conference opened at the Hague, the Czar presided at a council which considered the question of deporting convicted criminals to Siberia. The practice has proved a serious obstacle to the interests of that country, and is now abolished. The suffering of convicts was rather in the long journey in fetters than in the residence in Siberia, except when they were condemned to the mines. Nicholas has congratulated Russia on having obtained from China the use of the harbors Ta-Lien-Wan and Port Arthur, with the large territory of Manchuria, thereby securing an ice-free outlet for the Siberian railway to the Yellow Sea.

In June, 1899, Grand Duke George, the Czar's brother and heir apparent, died of consumption. Thereupon Nicholas declared Michael, the next brother, heir in default of male offspring of his own. Michael had previously been excluded from the court on account of his unruly and scandalous conduct. But the Czar, through a superstitious feeling on account of his having no son, is said to have meditated abdicating in Michael's favor. Nicholas is sombre and silent; he keeps his eyes cast down and seldom smiles. Yet he is fearless and declares, "I will live and die for Russia; the manner of death is of no account to me." He is a good husband and father, lives a simple life and works hard, his wife being usually in the same room. He does not care for court ceremonies or for dress. He has several trusted counsellors, of whom M. de Witte, the Minister of Finance, is said to stand first in his regard. But whether he seeks the advice of others or depends on the resources of his own mind, he makes prompt and large decisions. He seeks especially to improve education in Russia, saying, "Russia has had her Czar Liberator, now she needs her Czar Educator."





GENERAL GRANT, after his journey round the world, declared that the four most remarkable men whom he had met were Lord Beaconsfield, Gambetta, Bismarck and Li Hung Chang. Since that time the Chinese statesman has become still better known to the Western world, as he himself has traveled round the globe. And yet there is much mystery as to the real source and extent of his power and the sudden and surprising changes of his official relation to the government of the Flowery Kingdom.

Li Hung Chang was born in 1822 at Hofei in the province of Anhui. His family was ancient, but his father, though one of the literary class, was not specially distinguished. Li was early devoted to learning and excelled in the accuracy of his writing. He competed for literary honors at the provincial capital and at Peking, and in 1849 took the Hanlin degree. This should have secured for him employment in the civil service, but in 1851 Taiping rebels invaded Anhui, and Li became a soldier. The rebellion was due to a secret political society in the southern provinces, whose aim was to overthrow the Manchu or Tartar dynasty, and place on the throne a native Chinese. A leader was found in Hung Seu Tseuen, who had been partially educated by Christian missionaries, and now claimed to have received a divine call to take up arms against the Manchu rulers. His first successes increased the number of his followers until he captured Nanking, the southern capital, in 1853. Hung then proclaimed the inauguration of the Taiping dynasty and assumed the name Teen Wang, "Heavenly King." Li, with a small band of militia, harassed the Taipings as they marched northward. Tsang

Kwo Fan, viceroy of the district, then enlisted Li in his own troops, and soon made him secretary. In 1859 Li was made provincial judge of Chekiang, and discharged his new duties with marked ability. At this time Nanking was closely besieged by the imperial troops, and other places in possession of the rebels seemed likely to yield. But war with England and France drew off the imperial army and gave new impetus to the Taipings. When Shanghai was threatened with capture by them, Frederick Townsend Ward (1831-1862), an American adventurer, organized a force of various nationalities and cleared the neighboring country. Li Hung Chang was made governor of Kiangsu, his official residence being at Shanghai. By his suggestion Ward was employed to drill and lead Chinese soldiers. This force of three regiments was called the "Ever-Victorious Army." After two years of brilliant service, Ward was killed while leading an attack on Tseki. The Imperialists lamented his loss and paid great honors to his memory. Henry Burgevine, another American, succeeded to his place, but was soon distrusted by Li. The foreign residents of Shanghai who had supported the Ever-Victorious Army now refused to pay them. Burgevine marched into Shanghai and seized the money in the treasury. Li then dismissed him, and in February, 1863, appointed in his stead Major Charles George Gordon, of the Royal Engineers of the British army. From that day the fortune of the Taipings declined.

When Gordon had won some victories, he was, at Li's suggestion, made brigadier-general. The Ever-Victorious Army had been permitted to loot the towns they captured. Gordon objected to this practice and requested that a gratuity be distributed among them after the capture of any important place. But Li Hung Chang could not understand why he disapproved of the former method. After several severe fights Gordon rescued the fertile districts from the brigands and saved the city of Hangchow from the fate of Nanking, which the Taipings had ruined. At the close of his campaigns, his name alone was sufficient to put an army of rebels to flight. In December Soo-chow, the Taiping stronghold, surrendered. Teen Wang and his brother were transferred to Li, who pro-

mised that they should be treated honorably. But as soon as he had them fairly in his power, they were beheaded by executioners. Gordon was so horrified at the murder, that he set out armed to wreak vengeance on Li. The wily Chinese, warned of his approach, fled hastily. Gordon then wrote him an indignant letter and resigned his command. Li, as commander in chief, claimed in his reports to the Emperor the honor of the campaign and the final victory. He was rewarded with the title of "Guardian of the Heir Apparent," and with the yellow jacket and peacock's feather, and was made an hereditary noble of the third class. General Gordon demanded from the Chinese government an investigation of the murder of the Wangs, but was obliged to be content with Li's issuing a proclamation, taking full responsibility for the act.

The Imperial army finally gained possession of Nanking in July, 1864. But a serious problem arose—what to do with the Ever-Victorious Army. If disbanded, the soldiers might revive the rebellion. By Gordon's advice Li gave to the natives gratuities according to their rank and services, and to the foreigners the means of reaching their respective countries. Sir Henry Parks, the British minister, persuaded Li to establish at Shanghai a camp of instruction, to be commanded by British officers. Parks wished Gordon to take command, but Li who had been glad enough to have him when the Taipings were giving trouble, now made his position so disagreeable that Gordon was obliged to resign, and the camp was abandoned. Gordon departed to win new honors in other fields.

Li then displayed his remarkable executive abilities in restoring prosperity to the devastated provinces. Disorder was suppressed with an iron hand. The natives were persuaded to return to their former homes. Cities, towns and villages were rebuilt. By Li's advice the Emperor remitted three years' tribute to the people. A fleet of gunboats which had arrived too late for use in the Taiping war was sent back to England to be sold. An arsenal and a naval dockyard were established at Nanking. In 1865 Li was appointed governor-general of the Liang-Kiang provinces. When some

survivors of the Taipings reappeared as banditti under the name Neifei on the banks of the Yangtsze he was sent to suppress them. Again calling foreigners to his aid, he sought to drive the Neifei to the coast and there destroy them. But the Neifei escaped in junks and renewed their operations elsewhere. So displeased was the Emperor at Li's failure in this instance that he deprived him of his yellow jacket and degraded him three degrees in rank. But Li, though threatened with removal, worked patiently to recover lost honor. Soon he was able to report a decisive victory and was restored to his former dignity.

Henceforth wherever there was serious disorder or rebellion in the Empire the vigorous Li was commissioned to suppress it. Although foreigners were employed in such emergencies, Li frequently showed his dislike of them as residents in China. Whatever may be their ability in war and mechanical inventions, they are still to him barbarians in higher matters. Such is indeed the general feeling of the people of China, and it is at the bottom of the occasional attacks of the lower classes on Christian missionaries. In 1869, when an epidemic broke out in the Roman Catholic orphanage at Tientsin, the populous part of Peking, an infuriated mob attacked the French priests and sisters of charity. Twenty persons were slain and much property destroyed. Li was forthwith appointed governor-general of Chihli, the metropolitan province. The insurgents were soon reduced to order. Eighty Chinese were arrested, and thirty ringleaders executed. Local magistrates were dismissed from office. A special commissioner was sent by the Emperor to France to express his regret for the deplorable event. Yet recognizing that indemnity might be sought by war, Li made active preparations for such emergency. Forts and earthworks were erected and armed with Krupp guns. War, however, was happily averted. Li was now made a noble of the first class and a member of the imperial council. Other honors were bestowed on this capable statesman. Reports were indeed circulated that he aspired to the throne, but these were palpably false. Li has ever been a firm upholder of the Manchu dynasty. He has submitted patiently to the tokens of the imperial displeasure,

which, according to the Chinese system, are inflicted on those who from any cause fail in promoting the prosperity of their provinces. And in turn he has won the rewards allotted to those who are successful. In 1871 he was degraded because of the disastrous floods, but when he built up again the banks of the Grand Canal, his honors were restored with the addition of a flowered peacock feather. Li, though jealous of the intrusion of foreigners, endeavored to introduce the agencies of modern civilization in spite of the prejudice caused by Chinese reverence for antiquity. Through his efforts the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company was established. It was not able, however, to drive out foreign competition. Though a firm lover of peace, Li felt the necessity of providing an efficient army and navy. He dreaded not only the interference of European nations, but the growing power of Japan. But this progressive government was not yet ready for war. It sent a minister to make a treaty of peace, and Li had charge of the negotiations on behalf of China. In 1874 a fresh difficulty arose with regard to Formosa, into which the Japanese had intruded. Li advocated war, believing that China was then better prepared comparatively than she would be later. But the peace party prevailed at Peking, and China paid an indemnity to Japan.

When the Emperor died in 1875, the Empress dowager named as his successor the infant son of his brother Prince Chun, thus securing the prolongation of her own power. She has always shown partiality for Li. The murder of Mr. Margary, of the British consular service in Yunnan, led to prolonged negotiations with the British minister. A convention then made at Chefoo for the improvement of commercial intercourse between the two nations was long disapproved by the British Foreign Office, but finally accepted in 1888. Li, however, had been promptly rewarded by his government for his part in making the agreement. He used his opportunities for improving the army and navy. He formed a company to mine coal in Chihli, but was not able to extend the system to other provinces. To him was also due the first railway in China, which was established to carry the coal to the coast. But in spite of his energy and foresight, great calamities still

occurred at times. The year 1877 was marked by a terrible famine, in which millions perished.

In 1878 there was danger of a war with Russia. Ten years previously that power had taken temporary charge of Kuldja, when China on account of the Taiping rebellion could not conduct its government. The time fixed by limitation had now expired, but Russia was unwilling to withdraw. An agreement made at St. Petersburg was not acceptable to the authorities at Peking, where there was a strong war party. Li declared that China was not in condition to enter on a war with Russia, and was supported in this view by Colonel Gordon, who had come from India on a visit to the scene of his former victories. With much difficulty the dispute was amicably arranged. Li then gladly turned his attention to the peaceful administration of his province. It was at this time that General Grant in his memorable journey reached China and was received with all the honors of a sovereign. Grant and Li had personal interviews, and each was impressed with the other's force of character.

In 1882 Li's mother died, and, obedient to the customs of his country, he resigned all his offices and retired for the purpose of mourning his loss. The usual period in such a case is two years and a quarter, but only a few months had elapsed when he was recalled to public duty by the Emperor. His grief for his mother was sincere, and he had carried out strictly the injunctions of the Chinese ceremonial law. All who saw him on his emergence were struck with his mournful wretched appearance. But the Emperor claimed his services on account of the collision between Japan and China in regard to Corea. That country acknowledged the suzerainty of China. Li had assisted the American Commodore Shufeldt in obtaining a treaty by which certain Korean ports were opened to American commerce. The English, French and Germans had followed this initiative. But the anti-foreign party had excited an insurrection, in which the queen of Corea, the heir-apparent, and the chief ministers had been killed, and the Japanese legation driven from Seoul, the capital. A Japanese invasion put down the insurrection, and compelled Corea to pay an indemnity. But Chinese suprem-

acy was endangered, and to maintain it an army was sent to Seoul. Li was fully convinced of the military superiority of Japan, and exerted himself to restore peace. A treaty was negotiated with the Japanese Count Ito, settling the rights of their respective countries in Corea.

Somewhat similar difficulties arose with the French in the South. France had for ten years been establishing its power in Tongking. Li was the Chinese representative in negotiations in 1884, but the concessions he granted were not approved at Pekin. He then offered to resign, but was not permitted to do so. After a costly war, in which a Chinese fleet was sunk at Fuh-chau, the country was obliged in 1886 to accept the very terms which he had offered in advance.

In the execution of the treaty about Corea difficulties soon arose. Both China and Japan dreaded the intervention of Russia, and wished to strengthen the kingdom of Corea. Unfortunately they could not work together. Li insisted that the Chinese alone should manage the reforms in Corea, and demanded that all Japanese ships should leave the Chinese ports. Japan complied, but gave warning that the sending of Chinese troops into Corea would be regarded as an act of war. But China sent a British transport, loaded with troops, and three war-vessels. They were met by three Japanese cruisers. In the engagement which followed the transport was sunk, and the Chinese ships put to flight. Other defeats followed on land. Attempt was made to conceal the disasters from the Imperial government, but in vain. Li, who was responsible for the campaign, was again degraded and lost his yellow jacket. Convinced of his errors, he now advocated peace more strongly than ever before. After further defeats the Tsung-li-Yamen, or Chief Council of the Empire, was obliged to appoint the degraded Li as imperial commissioner to negotiate peace, and therefore restored his official honors. This was Li's first visit to a foreign country. Accompanied by a retinue of 135 persons, arrayed with oriental magnificence, he arrived in Japan to perform his humiliating mission. During the progress of the negotiations he was attacked in the street by a fanatical Japanese, who fired a pistol in his face. Though the bullet lodged under the left eye, the

wound proved not serious. The Mikado and his subordinates expressed profound sorrow for the occurrence. According to the new treaty both China and Japan withdrew their troops from Corea, while that country was strongly urged to cultivate its own strength.

In April, 1896, Li Hung Chang, at the age of seventy-four, set out on a semi-diplomatic tour around the world. Visiting Russia first, he attended the magnificent ceremony of the coronation of Czar Nicholas II. at Moscow. At the same time he made an important agreement with Prince Lobanoff, by which Russia should have free passage for the Siberian railway through Manchuria, while China should receive help in case of further trouble from Japan. He passed on to Germany, where he was cordially welcomed; then to Paris, where he suffered from the heat. While in England he visited Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone, and was received by Queen Victoria at Osborn, where he inspected the British fleet. Nothing seemed to make greater impression on his mind than the vast industrial works of Great Britain. On coming to the United States, Li was received by President Cleveland and Secretary Olney at New York. He made an earnest plea for the repeal of the Geary law, which excludes Chinese laborers. He was cordially greeted by the representatives of the American Missionary Societies, and testified to the value of their labors in China. He was entertained in several Eastern cities, but the time of his journey was limited, and he crossed the continent by the Canadian Pacific Railway. From the Western coast he sent back assurances of friendship, and a gracious farewell to America.

After his grand tour Li Hung Chang reached Peking on October 20th. Within a week it was announced that he had been appointed to a new office—Minister of Foreign Affairs—and then that, for his breach of etiquette in visiting the Empress Dowager before the Emperor, he had been deprived of his office, of his yellow jacket and peacock feather. But the office was soon restored to the great statesman, and he was ordered to remove from Tientsin to Peking. The censors had on previous occasions caused him to be deprived of his

honors for a short period, but these were always restored in a few weeks.

Li Hung Chang represented the effort for progress, yet within limits fixed by Chinese ideas: the censors were adherents of blind traditionalism, and the official class were generally corrupt. In times of extremity Li has been constantly appealed to for help, but on ordinary occasions his advice was little regarded, except by his firm friend, the Empress dowager. Li's movements for Chinese development and advancement were not helped by foreign governments. Had the enlightened West helped him to overcome the bigotry of his own people, to establish manufactures, and to reorganize the army on European methods, it is probable that the war with Japan would not have left his people prostrate and helpless before the aggressive and imitative Japanese. The disastrous results of that brief war gave him new moral force in his country, but the ruling powers jealously resisted and hampered his actions. Li's observations on foreign affairs have been marked by dignity and wisdom.

His stature and dignified bearing made a strong impression upon the Western world, where his intelligent and amiable conversation gained him many friends. The last scenes of his varied and picturesque life were but a repetition of his former effort, in response to the despairing call of his country, to save China from the results of her own great folly—to prevent, if possible, the worst results of the Boxer movement, to conciliate an outraged civilization, and to handle the mutual jealousies of the world's great nations so as to prevent the break-up of his own country, and make possible a new era of progress and reform. It was not unfitting that the feeble old man should find the end of his life with the completion of this great task. He died November 7, 1901, universally recognized as one of the greatest statesmen of the nineteenth century.

GENERAL GRANT AND LI HUNG CHANG.

At Tientsin we met the famous Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, the most eminent man in China, whom some admirers call the Bismarck of the East. Li Hung Chang, because of his services as commander of the army that suppressed the Taeping rebellion, has been advanced to the highest positions in the empire. He is a nobleman of the rank of earl, Grand Secretary of State, guardian of the heir apparent, head of the War Office and of the Chinese armies, director of the coast defenses. He is in command of the province which guards the road to Peking, the most honorable viceroyalty in the empire. It shows the genius of the man that he, a Chinaman, should receive such honors from a Tartar dynasty, and even be the guardian of a Tartar emperor. It shows the wisdom and conciliatory spirit of the dynasty that they should raise a Chinaman to a position in which he is practically custodian of the throne.

The great Viceroy took an interest almost romantic in the coming of General Grant. He was of the same age as the General. They won their victories at the same time—the Southern rebellion ending in April, the Taeping rebellion in July, 1865. As the Viceroy said to a friend of mine, “General Grant and I have suppressed the two greatest rebellions known in history.” Those who have studied the Taeping rebellion will not think that Li Hung Chang coupled himself with General Grant in a spirit of boasting. “How funny it is,” he also said, “that I should be named Li, and General Grant’s opponent should be called Lee.” While General Grant was making his progress in India the Viceroy followed his movements and had all the narratives of the journey translated. As soon as the General reached Hong Kong, Judge Denny, our able and popular consul at Tientsin, conveyed a welcome from the Viceroy. When questions were raised as to the reception of the General in Tientsin the Viceroy ended the matter by declaring that no honor should be wanting to the General, and that he himself should be the first Chinaman to greet him in Tientsin and welcome him to the chief province of the empire.

Li Hung Chang strikes you at first by his stature, which would be unusual in a European, and was especially notable among his Chinese attendants, over whom he towered. He has a keen eye, a large head, and a wide forehead, and speaks with a quick, decisive manner. When he met the General he studied his face curiously, and seemed to show great pleasure, not merely

the pleasure expressed in mere courtesy, but sincere gratification. Between the General and the Viceroy friendly relations grew up, and while we were in Tientsin they saw a great deal of each other. The Viceroy said at the first meeting that he did not care merely to look at General Grant and make his formal acquaintance, but to know him well and talk with him. As the Viceroy is known to be among the advanced school of Chinese statesmen, not afraid of railways and telegraphs, and anxious to strengthen and develop China by all the agencies of outside civilization, the General found a ground upon which they could meet and talk. The subject so near to the Viceroy's heart is one about which few men living are better informed than General Grant. During his stay in China, wherever the General has met Chinese statesmen he has impressed upon them the necessity of developing their country, and of doing it themselves. No man has ever visited China who has had the opportunities of seeing Chinese statesmen accorded to the General, and he has used these opportunities to urge China to throw open her barriers, and be one in commerce and trade with the outer world.

The General formed a high opinion of the Viceroy as a statesman of resolute and far-seeing character. This opinion was formed after many conversations—official, ceremonial, and personal. The visit of the Viceroy to the General was returned next day in great pomp. There was a marine guard from the "Ashuelot." We went to the viceregal palace in the Viceroy's yacht, and as it steamed up the river every foot of ground, every spot on the junks, was crowded with people. At the landing troops were drawn up. A chair lined with yellow silk, such a chair as is used only by the Emperor, was awaiting the General. As far as the eye could reach, the multitude stood expectant and gazing, and we went to the palace through a line of troops, who stood with arms at "Present." Amid the firing of guns and the beating of gongs our procession slowly marched to the palace door. The Viceroy, surrounded by his mandarins and attendants, welcomed the General.—JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.



CAVOUR was undoubtedly the mainspring of the actual unification of Italy. Whatever may have been the dream of enthusiastic idealists and revolutionary conspirators, he was the statesman who clearly foresaw the real problem and the practical means for its solution and set all the factors in motion so effectually that though he died before their full accomplishment, the work still went on to its predestined end.

Camillo Benso di Cavour was born at Turin on the 1st of August, 1810. The family of the Bensì is one of the oldest of the noble houses of Piedmont. His father, Marquis Michele Giuseppe, who took his title from the little village of Cavour, had held office in the court of Prince Borghese, husband of Pauline Bonaparte, Napoleon's beautiful sister, but in later life abhorred the Revolution. Camillo, a lively boy, was sent at the age of ten to the military academy at Turin. Here he was appointed page to Prince Charles Albert of Savoy, but soon wearied of the dress and etiquette attached to the position. Having shown aptitude for mathematics, he was commissioned on the engineering staff. While stationed at Genoa he was engaged on its fortifications, but his liberal talk caused him to be transferred in 1830 to a secluded spot. Becoming tired of the restraints of army life, he resigned his commission in 1831, much against the desire of his father.

Cavour, being now regarded at the Sardinian court as a dangerous fellow, went abroad and spent ten years in foreign travel. His sojourn in England and France made him familiar with the languages, social institutions and economy of

those countries. Hence when he returned to Italy he introduced various improvements on the family estates. He assisted in founding the Agricultural Society of Piedmont, promoted all kinds of industrial works, the use of steam and machinery, the building of railroads, and everything tending to the material welfare and prosperity of the country.

Charles Albert, after an early declaration for liberal government, had fallen under the control of Austrian agents. But in 1847 he began again to avow his desire for Italian independence. Cavour now entered the political field. He disapproved, however, the petty plots and fitful insurrections of the Carbonari, as tending only to rivet the Austrian yoke. The use of the press was more consonant to his principles. In December, 1847, when the ferment of liberal ideas was working throughout Italy, Cavour and Balbo founded the *Risorgimento* as the organ of their opinions. A few days later, Cavour joined with other leading Italians in addressing the King of Naples, calling on him to unite in the policy of Pius IX. and Charles Albert, "the policy of prudence, forgiveness, civilization and Christian charity." But the call was addressed to deaf ears.

Cavour was the first to call for a constitution, that is, a limited monarchy, for Sardinia. But the advanced liberals, longing for a republic on the French model, reproached him with Anglomania. When the revolution occurred, it went further than Cavour thought prudent, but being made, his endeavor was thenceforth to sustain and direct it to the country's welfare. At the first election after the armistice between Sardinia and Austria, Cavour failed to obtain a seat in Parliament, but at a supplementary election he was chosen deputy for Turin, and took his place among the Constitutionalists. After the victory of the Austrians at Custozza, Cavour saw distinctly that the only hope of Italy lay in negotiation. Day after day in the last months of 1848 he labored to support the peace ministry in the chambers and in the press. The revolutionary party was stronger, and Cavour reluctantly admitted, that as war must come, it had better come quickly. On the 13th of March, 1849, the truce with Austria was declared at an end, and ten days later the reign of Charles Albert was

terminated by the battle of Novara and his abdication in favor of his son.

Cavour by birth and connections belonged to the aristocracy, but under the new government of Victor Emmanuel, he openly joined the Liberal Party. He directed his opposition against the power of the church in civil affairs. He supported the movement for annulling ecclesiastical courts and rendering the clergy amenable in civil matters to the common law. The death of Santa Rosa left a vacancy in the cabinet, and public opinion indicated Cavour as the proper person to fill it. When the ministers submitted his name to Victor Emmanuel, he remarked, "Take my word for it, your new colleague will turn you all out, and be Prime Minister himself." He was made minister of Commerce and Agriculture, and soon introduced reforms in the Piedmontese commercial system, reduced the bread tax, introduced an income tax, and modified the laws relating to the press. Throughout his career he was an unflinching advocate of the freedom of the press and of public discussion.

In May, 1852, the ministry resigned and a new cabinet was formed by D'Azeglio, without Cavour. But D'Azeglio had to retire, and for the next nine years with but short intervals, Cavour was the Prime Minister of Sardinia. His leading object was to secure for his country a higher standing among the States of Europe. For this he must first build up its internal strength. He spent large sums on the restoration of the navy, which in fact owes its existence to Cavour. He promoted railroad enterprises, and reconstructed the line of fortresses, guarding the frontier. While an extreme party counselled the confiscation of the church property, Cavour contented himself with reducing the number of the clergy, suppressing the convents which rendered no active service, and raising the position of the inferior clergy. With the spiritual work of the church he never sought to interfere. His wish was for "a free Church in a free State."

Cavour's foreign policy was yet more remarkable. When England and France engaged in war with Russia in 1854, and sent their armies to the Crimea, Cavour seized the opportunity to send a Sardinian contingent in the spring of 1855

to take part in the great international struggle. Parties in the Sardinian Parliament and some of his colleagues in the Cabinet ridiculed and opposed the act, but the King supported him. The movement was regarded as audacious by other nations, and an Austrian minister declared it a pistol-shot fired at the head of Austria. The expedition at first suffered severely from cholera, and had little opportunity to gain distinction, but at last when it won the battle of Tchernaya, the national enthusiasm bore down all opposition.

When the Congress of Paris was summoned in 1856 to regulate the terms of peace with Russia, Cavour wished D'Azeglio to be sent as the representative of Sardinia, but was obliged himself to undertake the mission. In spite of his efforts the Congress resolved to separate without considering the grievances of Italy against Austria. The great Italian patriot then recorded a solemn protest in the face of Europe. In a *Memorandum* addressed to France and England he set forth clearly the wishes and the fears not of Sardinia, but of Italy. It was officially announced to Europe that the very existence of the free State of Sardinia was incompatible with the maintenance of Austrian dominion in Italy.

England remained passive, nay, was positively unfriendly, because of its sympathy with Austria in certain directions, but Napoleon III. responded to Cavour's appeal, and in 1858 made an arrangement with him for a joint war on Austria. When this was realized in 1859, Cavour became in Sardinia a kind of dictator, filling all the posts of the ministry, as needed to help on the war. Although the Peace of Villafranca came too early for his purpose, yet the victories, beginning at Montebello in May and ending at Solferino in June, terminated Austrian supremacy in Italy. Central Italy was officially annexed to Sardinia, and for the first time in history there existed an Italian kingdom worthy of the name of Italy. This was suddenly and unexpectedly enlarged by the Neapolitan revolution, when General Garibaldi venturously advanced from Sicily to Naples, proclaiming along his route that he came to unite Italy into one country under the constitutional sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. Yet it was Cavour who, by his bold, wise, prudent, statesmanlike policy, not only

set Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic, but brought her states and cities, once so jealous of their freedom, but long the unwilling slaves of a relentless despotism, to unite in a progressive liberal kingdom.

The 29th of May, 1861, was the last day of Cavour's public life. His last message to the House of Deputies was a declaration that all who had fought for Italy deserved well of their country. He had long been over-worked, but the feeling of responsibility urged him on. On the 30th of May he was stricken down with some fever. Victor Emmanuel hastened to his bedside, but came away weeping, knowing that the great statesman must soon depart. He breathed his last on the 6th of June, 1861.

Count Cavour had never married. He left his property to the children of his elder brother, who had always remained a supporter of the reactionary party. Cavour was always moderate in his opinions, genial and upright. Few statesmen have left behind them a more stainless name.

During the years of his official life he had held every office in the ministry except that of justice, and in every one by mere force of intellect and grasp of mind, he proved himself an able administrator, eventually achieving what seemed an impossibility.

ROME, THE CAPITAL OF ITALY.

IN the first great debate of the Italian Parliament in 1870, when the Kingdom of Sardinia was merged into the Kingdom of Italy, and when Rome was officially declared the seat of the new monarchy, Cavour showed himself equal to the greatness of the occasion. His speeches in that debate were the last and greatest triumph of his parliamentary career. They have a force of language and a width of view not often found in his plain matter-of-fact oratory. An extract is appended.

The choice of a capital must be determined by high moral considerations—considerations on which the instinct of each nation must decide for itself. Rome, gentlemen, unites all the historical, intellectual and moral qualities, which are required to form the capital of a great country. Rome is the only city in Italy which has few or no municipal traditions. Her history, from the days of the Cæsars unto our own, is that of a city whose importance stretches far beyond her own territory—of a city destined to

be the capital of a great country. Convinced, deeply convinced, as I am of this truth, I think it my bounden duty to proclaim it as solemnly as I can before you and before the country. I think it my duty, also, to appeal, under these circumstances, to the patriotism of all our most illustrious cities, when I beg them to cease all discussion on this subject, so that Europe may become aware that the necessity of having Rome for our capital is recognized and proclaimed by the whole nation. I think that I have some personal claim to make this appeal to those who, for reasons that I respect, differ from me in this question. I do not wish, gentlemen, to lay any claim to the stoicism of an ancient Spartan; I admit frankly, that for me it is a bitter grief to be obliged to tell my native city that she must renounce at once and for ever all hope of retaining within her walls the seat of government. Yes, gentlemen, in as far as I personally am concerned, I shall go to Rome with sorrow. Having but little taste for art, I am persuaded that, amidst the splendid monuments of ancient and modern Rome, I shall regret the formal and unadorned streets of my native city. But there is one thing, gentlemen, I can assert confidently, knowing well the character of my fellow-citizens,—knowing, because I have seen them in the hour of trial, that they have been always ready for the greatest sacrifices on behalf of the sacred cause of Italy,—having witnessed the resolution, I will not say the joy, with which they faced the danger of a hostile occupation,—acquainted, I repeat, with all their feelings, I assert in their name, as deputy of Turin, without fear of contradiction, that my city is ready to submit herself to this last great sacrifice for the sake of Italy. . . .

I reckon it a certainty, if we cannot employ the powerful argument, that, without Rome for a capital, Italy can never be firmly united, nor the peace of Europe securely established, then we shall never be able to induce either the Catholic world, or that nation which believes it to be its duty and its post, to act as representative of the Catholic world, to consent to the union of Rome with Italy.

To prove the truth of this assertion, let me make an hypothesis. Suppose that the residence of the Sovereign Pontiff, instead of being at Rome, in the centre of Italy, in that city which unites so many historical traditions, was situated on the borders of the Peninsula, in some town of importance if you like, but to which no great historical prestige attached. Suppose, for instance, that the ancient ecclesiastical city of Aquilea had been

restored, and that the Papacy held its residence there, do you believe it would be easy to obtain the consent of the Catholic powers to the separation of the spiritual and temporal power in this corner of the Italian land? No, gentlemen; you know it would not.

I am aware that in such a case as this, you might assert the principle of non-intervention, the right that every people has to manifest its own wishes, and all the grand maxims on which international law is based.

But diplomatists would tell you that in politics there are no absolute principles—that all laws have their exceptions—that we ourselves have no idea of applying to all parts of Italy the principle of nationality, and that, as we are content to leave Malta in the hands of England, we may well consent to a territory not essential to the formation of Italy, remaining subject to the Papal dominion.

We should be told, too, that the interests of Italy, being in this instance of a secondary order, could not overbalance the general interests of humanity; and I assure you that against such arguments as these the finest declamations in the name of abstract principles and moral justice would prove of no effect. Our Minister of Foreign Affairs, even if he had the good fortune of being assisted by all the professors of international law that could be found, would never succeed in convincing the diplomatists with whom he had to treat; and no negotiations could solve a question based on such terms. I know that when all other arguments failed we might employ the final argument of cannon balls; but we are all, I trust, convinced that this is an argument not to be adopted in this question.

I repeat, then, that a declaration of the absolute necessity for Italy of possessing Rome as her capital, is not only a prudent and opportune measure, but an indispensable condition towards the success of any steps the Government may take for the solution of the Roman question. . . .

If the overthrow of the temporal power was to prove fatal to the independence of the Church, then I should state without hesitation, that the union of Rome with Italy would not only be fatal to Catholicism, but to Italy itself. I cannot conceive a greater calamity for a civilized people than to see civil and religious authority united in one hand, and that hand the hand of government. The history of all ages and all countries establishes this fact; wherever these two authorities have been united, civi-

lization has almost instantaneously ceased advancing, and has never failed to retrograde ultimately ; the most odious of despotisms has been established ; and this result has happened equally whenever a sacerdotal caste has assumed spiritual power. Everywhere this fatal confusion of authority has led to the same result. God grant, gentlemen, that this may never be the case with us.

It is my opinion, then, that the independence and dignity of the Sovereign Pontiff, as well as the independence of the Church, would be protected by the separation of the temporal and spiritual authority ; by the free application of the principle of liberty to the relations of civil and religious society.

It is evident, gentlemen, that if this separation could be effected in any clear, definite and irrevocable manner, and if the independence of the Church could be thus established, the independence of the Pope would be placed upon a far surer foundation than it is at present. His authority would become more effectual when no longer trammelled by all those "concordats," and all these bargains, which always have been, and always will remain, indispensable, as long as the Pope continues to be a temporal sovereign. These weapons, with which civil authority, both in Italy and elsewhere, has been obliged to arm itself in self-defence, will become needless when the Pontiff confines himself to the exercise of his spiritual powers ; and the authority of the Pope, far from diminishing, will increase enormously in its rightful sphere.

The great object, then, is to persuade the Holy Father that the Church can be independent without temporal power. But it seems to me that when we present ourselves before the Sovereign Pontiff and can say to him, "Holy Father, the temporal power is no longer a guarantee for your independence. Renounce it, and we will give you that liberty which for three centuries you have sought in vain to obtain from all the great Catholic powers—that liberty, a few fragments of which you have wrung from them by 'concordats,' on condition of parting with great privileges, and of restricting the very use of your spiritual authority—that very liberty which you have never obtained from those powers, who boast of being your allies, we, your devoted sons, come to offer you in all its fullness. We are ready to proclaim in Italy the great principle of a free Church in a free State.—

COUNT CAVOUR.



MARSHAL MACMAHON.



ANY Irishmen driven from their native land on account of their religion have sought refuge in France and Spain, and have risen to distinction in their new homes. Among these was John Baptist MacMahon, born at Limerick in 1715. Favoring the cause of the Stuarts, and unable to obtain education in Ireland, he went to Paris, where he became a physician. At his death in 1775 he left two sons, who both entered the French army. The elder, Charles Laurence, became a marquis and a Chevalier of St. Louis. On the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, he was made a Field-Marshal, and in 1827 was named a peer of France. He died in 1830. The younger son became a colonel in the Hussars of the Guard in 1783, and during the Revolution went abroad with other royalists. He was afterwards an intimate friend of King Charles X. Of his four sons, the third, Marie Edme Patrick Maurice, was destined to rise to the head of the French Republic. He was born at Sully, in the department of Saone et Loire, on July 13, 1808. He was educated at the military school of St. Cyr, and graduated with high honors in October, 1827. He took part as a lieutenant in the expedition to Algiers in 1830, and received the cross of Knight of the Legion of Honor. He steadily rose in rank, serving in France as well as Algiers until 1845, when he was commissioned colonel. As brigadier-general in 1848, he took command of the province of Oran, and as general of division in 1852, had the military government of Constantine.

In August, 1855, MacMahon was sent to the Crimea in command of a division of infantry. General Pelissier was then preparing for a grand assault on Sebastopol, and he as-

signed the most difficult part—the storming of the Malakoff—to the fresh troops brought by MacMahon. When informed of this their commander replied, “Count upon us, General.” On the 8th of September the fort of the Malakoff fell into their power, but had immediately to be defended against the strenuous efforts of the Russians to recover their lost position. Mines had been laid, and nearly forty-five tons of powder were ready to be exploded beneath the occupants of the fort. But MacMahon’s engineer discovered and severed the connections. Thus the French were able to hold the key of Sebastopol, and the further defence of that city became impossible. The Russians fired the town during the night and left its ruins to their foes. MacMahon received for his exploit the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and in June, 1856, was named Senator and appointed to the command of the reserves.

MacMahon, having returned to his work in Algiers, distinguished himself in pursuit of the Kabyles, and in September, 1858, was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Algeria. When the Italian war with Austria broke out in April, 1859, he was placed in command of the Second Corps. On June 3 he routed an Austrian corps, and on the next day arrived at the battle of Magenta in time to render it a decisive victory. But for his timely approach Napoleon III. and the King of Sardinia would have been defeated by the Austrian army, which outnumbered their combined forces. For his services on the field MacMahon was made Marshal, and afterwards received the title of Duke of Magenta. Twenty days later he assisted in achieving the victory of Solferino, which brought the war to a close. Marshal MacMahon returned to Paris, and was placed in charge of the Lille military district. In September, 1864, he was made governor-general of Algeria, but his personal system of government proved a failure. The European colonists left in large numbers, and thousands of the natives perished from famine. In 1870 the Marshal twice offered his resignation, but it was not accepted. He was recalled, however, to take part in the war with Prussia.

Marshal MacMahon in July took command of the First Army Corps, and had charge of the defence of Alsace. Napoleon III. was nominally commander-in-chief, but his presence

in the field hampered the action of the real chiefs. On August 2d MacMahon was ordered to move eastwardly from Metz. He advanced as far as Woerth with 40,000 men, when on the 6th he was suddenly overwhelmed by twice that number under Crown Prince Charles of Prussia. Cut off from the main army, he could maintain his ground only by hard fighting, but he finally succeeded in retreating in good order. His design was to fall back on Paris, but he was directed to march to the relief of Bazaine at Metz. Then he was driven by the Germans towards Sedan. The desperate nature of the conflict of September 1st was fully realized by the Marshal. "Leave me, my friends," he said to the officers who sought to prevent his entering the struggle, "let me show those kings and princes who hide behind masses of men, that a Marshal of France knows how to fight, and when beaten, how to die." At 6 A.M. he was severely wounded in the thigh, and the command devolved on General Wimpffen, who, after a gallant but hopeless struggle, signed the capitulation. MacMahon became a prisoner of war, and remained at Wiesbaden until the treaty of peace was signed.

Returning to France in March, 1871, he was greeted by Thiers, "as the Chevalier without fear and without reproach." He was placed in command of the Army of Versailles, hastily gathered to rescue the capital from the Communists. It began operations April 11, and moved forward steadily fighting through the suburbs of Paris until May 26. His army lost 7500 men before the Communists submitted, after setting fire to the city. When order was restored, the royalists hoped that MacMahon would use the army to bring back the Bourbon king, Comte de Chambord. But he felt it his duty to serve loyally the new Republic, as he had served the previous governments. He declared he was no politician, but his monarchical inclinations were well known and he was marked as a candidate for the highest position in the Republic. Thiers' resignation was accepted in May, 1873, and MacMahon was immediately chosen to succeed him. The Duc de Broglie was placed at the head of the ministry, and there were many signs of a conservative reaction. But the rapid advance of republican sentiment compelled his withdrawal, and the

tenure of each successive ministry became less secure. In 1875 the Republican Constitution was definitely formed. As the Senate was at first formed, it had a monarchical majority. The Legitimists and the Orleanists had united their forces. MacMahon, though his sympathies were with them, would enter into no conspiracy, but declared he would execute whatever the National Assembly would decree. By his loyal adherence to the Constitution he saved France from another revolution. At last, wearied with the attempt to keep pace with the changes of public opinion, he recalled the Duc de Broglie as his chief adviser. The Chamber of Deputies was then dissolved, but the new elections showed a decided increase of Republicans, they having 335 members against 198 of all other parties. The President was therefore obliged to form a cabinet of Republicans, with whom he had little sympathy. He retained his office, however, and did the honors of the Republic to foreign visitors during the Paris Exposition of 1878. In the following January the Republicans demanded the removal of some Bonapartist generals for their pernicious political activity, but the President, with his strong military spirit, refused. He therefore resigned the Presidency January 30, 1879.

Marshal MacMahon retired to La Forest, poorer than when he became President. He had declined the large allowance granted him for traveling expenses during his term. To his successor, Grévy, he presented the plate necessary for service at the Elysée. Though Marshal MacMahon retained his army rank, he henceforth lived a quiet, peaceful life, undisturbed by public cares. When he was offered a dignified position, he replied: "When a man has been first in his country, he can become nothing less, except as a soldier on the frontier, facing the enemy." He died in October, 1893.

THE BATTLE OF MAGENTA.

(June 4, 1859.)

On June 3d, General MacMahon, commanding the Second Corps of the French army, routed an Austrian corps at Roecchetta. The Emperor Napoleon III. and the King of Sardinia had but 15,000 men when they found that the Austrians to the number

of 125,000, under General Gyulai, had already crossed the Ticino.

The 4th of June had been fixed by the Emperor for the definite occupation of the left bank of the Ticino. General MacMahon's corps d'armée, strengthened by the division of the Voltigeurs of the Imperial Guard, and followed by the whole army of the King of Sardinia, was to advance from Turbigo on Buffalora and Magenta, while the division of the grenadiers of the Imperial Guard was to carry the tête-de-pont of Buffalora on the left bank, and Marshal Canrobert's corps d'armée was to advance along the right bank to cross at the same point.

The execution of this plan was frustrated by one of those accidents which must always be expected in warfare. The army of the King of Sardinia was delayed in crossing the river, and only one of his divisions was able to follow the corps of General MacMahon at a distance. When Marshal Canrobert's corps left Novara to join the Emperor, who had proceeded in person to the bridge of Buffalora, it found the road so encumbered that it was very late in reaching the banks of the Ticino. So matters stood, and the Emperor awaited, not without anxiety, the signal of the arrival of General MacMahon's corps at Buffalora. About two o'clock he heard a heavy fusillade and cannonade in that quarter. The General was coming up. This was the moment to support him by advancing on Magenta.

The Emperor at once threw Wimpffen's brigade against the formidable positions occupied by the Austrians in front of the bridge; Cler's brigade followed up the movement. The heights which border the canal and village of Buffalora were soon carried by the impetuosity of the French, but they then found themselves opposed to formidable bodies, whom they could not drive back, and who stopped their advance. Marshal Canrobert's column had not yet come up, and, on the other hand, the cannonade and fusillade which had announced the arrival of General MacMahon, had completely ceased. Had the General's column been repulsed, and would the division of the Grenadiers of the Guard have to sustain alone the whole strength of the enemy?

The position of the Austrians was this: When they learned on the night of June 2d that the French army had made itself master of the passage of the Ticino at Turbigo, they rapidly recrossed the river at Vigevano with three of their corps d'armée, who burned the bridges behind them. On the morning of the 4th they were opposite the Emperor 125,000 strong, and it was

against such a disproportionate force that the division of the Grenadiers of the Guard, with the Emperor, had to compete. At this critical moment General Regnaud de Saint d'Anglely displayed immense energy, as did also the generals under his orders. General of Division Mellinet had two horses shot under him, General Cler fell mortally wounded, General Wimpffen was wounded in the head. Commandants Desme and Maudhuy, of the Grenadiers of the Guard, were killed; the Zouaves lost 200 men, and the Grenadiers suffered not less.

Finally, after a long wait of four hours, during which Mellinet's division sustained without flinching the attacks of the enemy, Picard's brigade, led by Marshal Canrobert, arrived on the field of battle. Shortly afterward Vinoy's division joined General Niel's corps, which the Emperor had sent for, and finally Renault's and Trochu's divisions of Canrobert's corps. At the same time General MacMahon's cannon became again audible in the distance. The General's corps, retarded in its advance, and less numerous than it should have been, had advanced in two columns on Magenta and Buffalora.

The Emperor was in considerable danger, and it would have fared very ill with his fortunes had not MacMahon sent to the support of the Imperial Guard the division of General Espinasse, which enabled them to re-form. Had the Austrian general known what he was about, he would have continued his attack on this, the weakest point of the French line, but fancying that the bridge over the canal was the weakest point, he marched his troops out of Buffalora, and by a slanting movement threw the bulk of his forces against the French at the bridge. These were unable to resist against the overwhelming masses thus hurled against them. Whole brigades were cut through by mere weight of the attacking columns and forced back as far as Robecco; the day would have been won, but Gyulai had a man of genius to contend with.

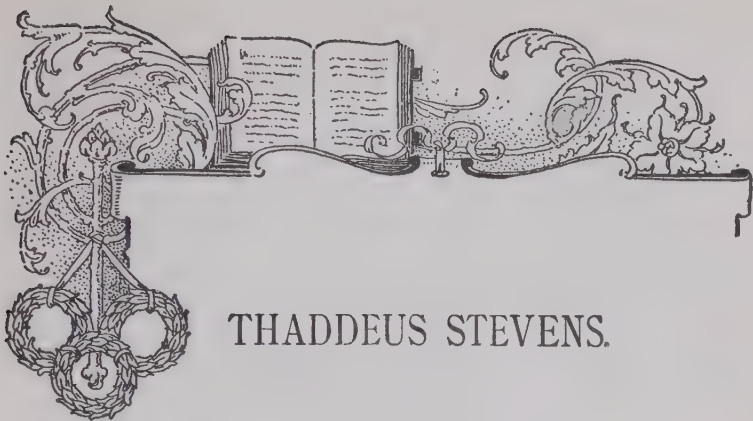
MacMahon immediately brought up fresh forces, consisting of the division of General Renault and the voltigeurs of the Imperial Guard, who had suffered least at Buffalora, and forming a compact mass with them, forced the enemy back from Robecco to Ponte Magenta, and, after a terrible contest, drove the Austrians as far back as Magenta itself. The Austrians were at this juncture reinforced by a portion of the corps d'armée of General Clam Gallas, who arrived from Milan, and the French were again forced back to Ponte Magenta, which became a sort of Hougomont

for the French and Austrian armies. It was taken and retaken not less than seven times.

At about eight o'clock the fortune of the day was decided by the superiority of the new rifle guns. General Auger placed ten batteries of these guns on the embankment of the railway just below Buffalora, thus taking the Austrians in the flank. Two regiments of Uhlans made desperate efforts to charge the guns, but almost perished in the attempt or were taken prisoners. While this frightful fire had thrown the Austrians, who up to sunset had had the best of the fighting, into confusion, General MacMahon, to whose activity, daring and intelligence the French owed their victory, formed another line of battle out of the debris of the broken divisions, and made another advance. This decided the retreat of the Austrians. They had lost 10,000 in killed and wounded and 7,000 prisoners. The Allies lost 4,000 in killed and wounded.

The next day the Emperor Napoleon presented a Marshal's baton to General MacMahon, and later conferred upon him the Dukedom of Magenta.





THADDEUS STEVENS.

IN English history William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, has been called "the Great Commoner." Much more appropriately in American history has Thaddeus Stevens, who rose from obscurity to sway the will of Congress in a momentous period, earned the same designation. As member of the lower House, by sheer force of intellect he directed the legislation of the nation. Fearless, outspoken, truth-loving, sarcastic, he compelled faltering partisans to adopt his radical measures. His life was devoted to the services of the poor and the down-trodden, and with them at his death he made his grave.

Thaddeus Stevens was born at Danville, Caledonia county, Vermont, on the 4th of April, 1792. His parents were poor, but as he was club-footed and sickly, he was excused from hard work, while his mother, noted as a charitable Christian, toiled to give him an education. He entered Vermont University in 1810, and when two years later it was closed on account of the war with Great Britain, he turned to Dartmouth College. After graduating in 1814 he began to study law at Peacham, Vermont, but soon removed to York, Pennsylvania, to teach school. His law studies were kept up, but when he applied for examination he found that the bar of Adams county had made a rule excluding any one who pursued other occupation while studying law. Stevens crossed the boundary into Maryland, and was there admitted at Bel Air in 1816. He settled

at Gettysburg for practice, and after a severe struggle with poverty attracted attention by his forcible pleas. A dozen years were devoted strictly to his profession, but in 1828 he showed his political tendency by supporting John Quincy Adams for the Presidency. Next the National Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore in 1831 gave him prominence. This was the first of those conventions which are now the accepted way of all parties for nominating candidates for the Presidency. Stevens, whose congenital deformity excluded him from becoming a Mason, resented this exclusion. Throughout his life he opposed with all his might every form of exclusive privileges. The Anti-Masonic party was a product of the same jealous democratic spirit which had raised an outcry against the Society of the Cincinnati at the close of the Revolutionary War. In the titles and honors of the order the Anti-Masons saw the outcropping of an unconstitutional, aristocratic hierarchy. Its secrecy and its alleged concealment of crime condemned it. In their judgment these charges were exemplified in the abduction and murder of William Morgan, a resident of Batavia, New York, who had prepared a work disclosing the secrets of the first three degrees of Masonry. Believing the liberties of the country to be in danger, many prominent men had united in the national convention to resist the danger. They nominated William Wirt, of Virginia, who had been a Mason, but had renounced the order. But the military glory of General Jackson easily won the contest in 1832. Vermont was the only State that gave its electoral vote to Wirt. But a year later Stevens was a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, and at once offered a resolution for an investigation of Masonry. It was defeated, but he renewed the effort in the next session, and then again until the investigation was ordered in 1835. It was soon balked by inability to secure testimony. But in the same session Stevens secured a notable triumph by saving the bill establishing a free-school system. To do this he had to unite with those whose course in the main he opposed, and to resist an almost overwhelming flood of petitions against the measure. In 1836 Stevens, in the State Constitutional Convention, opposed the restriction of suffrage to white men. On this account he

would not sign the report recommending the new Constitution to the people.

Stevens was now a Whig, and in a struggle about a contested election in Philadelphia in 1838 was the leader of his party in what was called the Buckshot war in the legislature. Both parties claimed to have elected a Speaker of the House, and their supporters appeared in arms, some having guns loaded with buckshot. The governor called on President Van Buren for troops, but he wisely declined to interfere. In a few days the State militia began to appear and act under the governor's orders. Finally the Whigs submitted to the Democratic organization, Stevens alone holding out. At the special session in May, 1839, his seat was declared vacant, but he was immediately re-elected and took his seat.

In 1842 Stevens removed to Lancaster, as a better field for his legal abilities. His strength lay in argument, in convincing judges and juries. He took no notes and cited few authorities, but he set forth luminously the main facts of his case, and by earnestness and energy carried all before him. In 1848 he was elected to Congress as a Whig. His hostility to slavery was shown in his vigorous opposition to Clay's compromise of 1850, and the Fugitive Slave Law. The Democratic party came into power, and for six years Stevens was out of Congress, attending to his professional duties, but watching closely the Kansas-Nebraska struggle. The Republican party came into existence in 1854, and Stevens became at once an active member. He entered Congress again in 1859, being then in his sixty-eighth year. It was not until the second year of the Civil War that his leadership was manifest. While others were misled by their hopes or fears, Stevens saw clearly the magnitude of the crisis, the terrible nature of the conflict, the obstinate resistance of the South, the appalling cost of victory. He early urged the emancipation of the slaves as a war-measure. He recognized the secession of the Southern States as an accomplished fact, depriving them henceforth of any rights under the Constitution. He held that it was the duty of the nation to put down the rebellion, coerce the rebels and confiscate their property. He considered it a mistake to recognize the Confederates as bel-

ligerents and establish a blockade. Better results could have been obtained by repealing the law creating the ports of entry in the seceded States. He voted to admit West Virginia as a new State, and justified the act as done, not under the Constitution, but under the laws of war.

After the close of the war Stevens advocated rigorous measures for the reconstruction of the Southern States on the basis of universal freedom. His spirit was roused when he saw that President Johnson had commenced the amnesty of rebels and the immediate restoration of the Southern States to all their former rights and privileges. At the opening of the next session of Congress, December 4, 1865, he called for a special committee of fifteen on Reconstruction. Of that committee he was chairman. It began by continuing the Freedmen's Bureau, and when the President vetoed the bill, it was passed over the veto. The aim of Stevens was to establish and safeguard the right of the negro to suffrage. The ensuing struggle between the President and Congress was in reality between Andrew Johnson and Thaddeus Stevens, both men of obstinate convictions, the one supported by all the power of the Presidency, the other obliged to gather a majority in Congress to sustain his views. Stevens was now physically a feeble, dying man. He was daily carried into the House by two stalwart blacks. He insisted on the military government of the South as conquered territory until the Southern States should be reconstructed on republican principles, until all their citizens, black as well as white, should participate in the formation and execution of the State laws.

The prolonged strife between the Republican Congress and the President culminated in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Stevens, as chairman of the committee on Reconstruction, presented the resolution in the House on February 22, 1868, and three days later notified the Senate of the action of the House. His failing health prevented his taking a prominent part in the trial. Yet his was the spirit that animated the actors. The decision was made on that count of the indictment which he had himself framed. It failed by one vote to secure the necessary two-thirds to convict. The sober judgment of the Republican party in later years has

approved the decision of the Senate. It has acknowledged that an extreme partisan triumph at the time might have been dangerous to the liberties of the country. Yet it was a real triumph for the feeble old man to have baffled the policy of the President, and to have finally established the equality of all men before the law. Less than six months after the impeachment trial, Stevens died August 11, 1868. His body, after lying in the rotunda of the Capitol, was taken to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. By his will, it was buried in a secluded cemetery, whose rules excluded no person on account of race.

The public career of Thaddeus Stevens was dominated by a strenuous regard for the equality of all men. Lame from birth and compelled to work his way upward through adverse conditions, he constantly exhibited generosity to the struggling and afflicted. Towards those whom he regarded as their oppressors he manifested unrelenting hostility, and used reckless invective. Though not an eloquent orator, he had great power of sarcasm, and his cutting remarks stung to the quick those who opposed his measures. No President was ever more completely impaled by reproach than was Andrew Johnson, whom Stevens referred to as "the man at the other end of the avenue." Stevens's ready wit had a basis of gayety, and was often used against his own infirmities as against his fellow-members. But in the great work of national legislation he was intensely earnest and self-sacrificing.

THE GREAT AMERICAN COMMONER.

(Sumner's Eulogy on Thaddeus Stevens, delivered in the United States Senate, December 18, 1868.)

Stevens was a child of New England, but after completing his education he found a home in Pennsylvania, which had already given birth to Giddings. If this great central State can claim one of these remarkable men by adoption only, it may claim the other by paternity. Their names are among its best glories.

Two things Stevens did for his adopted State, by which he repaid largely all her hospitality and favor. He taught her to cherish education for the people, and he taught her respect for human rights. The latter lesson was slower learned than the former. In the prime of life, when his faculties were in their highest vigor, he became conspicuous for earnest effort, crowned

by most persuasive speech, whose echoes have not yet died away, for those common schools, which, more even than railroads, are the handmaids of civilization, besides being the true support of republican government. His powerful word turned the scale, and a great cause was won. This same powerful word was given promptly and without hesitation to that other cause, suffering then from constant and most cruel outrage. Here he stood always like a pillar. Suffice it to say that he was one of the earliest of Abolitionists, accepting the name and bearing the reproach. Not a child in Pennsylvania, conning a spelling-book beneath the humble rafters of a village school, who does not owe him gratitude; not a citizen, rejoicing in that security which is found only in liberal institutions, founded on the equal rights of all, who is not his debtor.

When he entered Congress it was as champion. His conclusions were already matured, and he saw his duty plain before him. The English poet foreshadows him when he pictures—

“One in whom persuasion and belief
Had ripened into faith, and faith become
A passionate conviction.”

Slavery was wrong, and he would not tolerate it. Slave-masters, brimming with slavery, were imperious and lawless. From him they learned to see themselves as others saw them. Strong in his cause and in the consciousness of power, he did not shrink from any encounter, and, when it was joined, he used not only argument and history, but all those other weapons by which a bad cause is exposed to scorn and contempt. Nobody said more in fewer words, or gave to language a sharper bite. Speech was with him at times a cat-o'-nine tails, and woe to the victim on whom the terrible lash descended.

Does any one doubt the justifiableness of such debate? Sarcasm, satire, and ridicule are not given in vain. They have an office to perform in the economies of life. They are faculties to be employed prudently in support of truth and justice. A good cause is helped if its enemies are driven back; and it cannot be doubted that the supporters of wrong and the procrastinators shrank often before the weapons he wielded. Soft words turn away wrath; but there is a time for strong words as for soft words. Did not the Saviour seize the thongs with which to drive the money-changers from the temple? Our money-changers long ago planted themselves within our temple. Was it not right to lash

them away? Such an exercise of power in a generous cause must not be confounded with that personality of debate which has its origin in nothing higher than irritability, jealousy, or spite. In this sense, Thaddeus Stevens was never personal. No personal thought or motive controlled him. What he said was for his country and mankind.

As the rebellion assumed its gigantic proportions, he saw clearly that it could be smitten only through slavery ; and, when after a bloody struggle it was too tardily vanquished, he saw clearly that there could be no true peace except by founding the new government on the equal rights of all. And this policy he urged with a lofty dogmatism which was as beneficent as uncompromising. The rebels burned his property in Pennsylvania, and there were weaklings who attributed his conduct to the smart at his loss. How little they understood his nature ! Injury provokes and sometimes excuses resentment. But it was not in him to allow a private grief to influence his public conduct. The losses of the iron-master were forgotten in the duties of the statesman. He asked nothing for himself. He did not ask his own rights except as the rights of man.

I know not if he could be called an orator; perhaps, like Fox, he were better called a debater. And yet I doubt if words were ever delivered with more effect than when, broken with years and decay, he stood before the Senate, and in the name of the House of Representatives, and of all the people of the United States, impeached Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office. Who can forget his steady, solemn utterance of this great arraignment? The words were few, but they will sound through the ages. The personal triumph in his position at that moment was merged in the historic grandeur of the occasion. For a long time, against opposition of all kinds, against misconceptions of the law and against apologies for transactions without apology, he had insisted on impeachment ; and now this old man, tottering to your door, dragged the Chief Magistrate of the Republic to judgment. It was he who did this thing ; and I should do poor justice to his life if on this occasion I failed to express my gratitude for the heroic deed. His merit is none the less because other influences prevailed in the end. His example will remain forever.

In the House, which was the scene of his triumphs, I never heard him but once ; but I cannot forget the noble eloquence of that brief speech. I was there by accident just as he rose. He did not

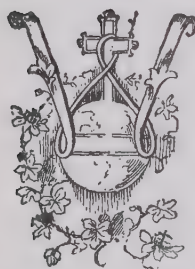
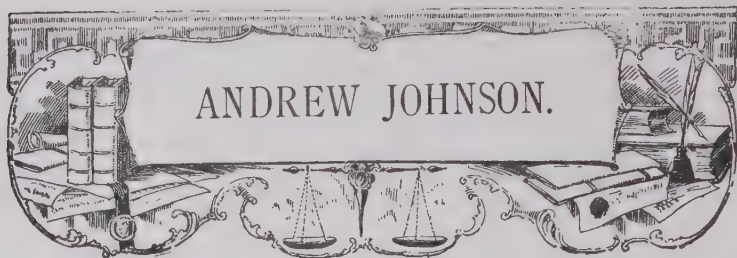
speak more than ten minutes ; but every sentence seemed an oration. With unhesitating plainness he arraigned Pennsylvania for her denial of equal rights to an oppressed race, and rising with the theme, declared that this State had not a Republican government. His explicitness was the more striking because he was the representative of Pennsylvania. Nobody, who has considered with any care what constitutes a Republican government, especially since the definition supplied by our Declaration of Independence, can doubt that he was right. His words will live as the courageous testimony of a great character on this important question.

The last object of his life was the establishment of equal rights throughout the whole country by the recognition of the requirement of the Declaration of Independence. I have before me two letters in which he records his convictions, which are, perhaps, more weighty, because the result of most careful consideration, when age had furnished experience and tempered the judgment.

"I have," says he, "long, and with such ability as I could command, reflected upon the subject of the Declaration of Independence, and finally have come to the sincere conclusion that universal suffrage was one of the inalienable rights intended to be embraced in that instrument." It is difficult to see how there can be any hesitation on this point, when the great title-deed expressly says that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. But this is not the only instance in which he was constrained by the habits of that profession which he practiced so successfully. A great Parliamentary of France has said: "The more one is a lawyer the less he is a Senator." If Stevens reached his conclusion slowly, it was because he had not completely emancipated himself from that technical reasoning which is the boast of the lawyer rather than of the statesman. The pretension that the power to determine the qualifications of voters embraced the power to exclude for color was included in the asserted power of the States to make regulations for the elective franchise seems at first to have deceived him, as if it was not insulting to the reason and shocking to the moral sense to suppose that any unalterable physical condition, such as color of hair, eyes or skin could be a qualification, and as if it was not equally offensive to suppose that under a power to determine qualifications or to make regulations a race could be disfranchised. Of course this whole pretension is a technicality set up against human rights. Nothing can be plainer than that a technicality

may be employed in favor of human rights, but never against them. Stevens came to his conclusion at last and rested in it firmly. It was his final aspiration to see it prevail. He had seen much for which he had striven embodied in the institutions of his country. He had seen slavery abolished. He had seen the freedman lifted to equality of political rights by act of Congress; he had seen the colored race throughout the whole land lifted to equality of civil rights by act of Congress. It only remained that he should see them throughout the whole land lifted to the same equality in political rights, and then the promises of the Declaration of Independence would be all fulfilled. But he was called away before this final triumph. A great writer of antiquity, a perpetual authority, tells us that "the chief duty of friends is not to honor the departed by idle grief, but to remember their purposes and to carry out their mandates." These are the words of Tacitus. I venture to add that we shall best honor him whom we now celebrate, if we adopt his aspiration and strive for its fulfillment.—CHARLES SUMNER.





WHEN Abraham Lincoln was assassinated Andrew Johnson was constitutionally summoned to be President of the United States. By force of character and political ability he had already risen from a very humble station to a high place in the National Government. He had enjoyed public esteem as a leader until his own conduct at his inauguration as Vice-President seemed to show moral unfitness for the gigantic task which soon devolved upon him. The inherent difficulty of his new work was increased by unfortunate events and by unexpected changes and diversities of opinion among his advisers and in Congress. After three years of discord Johnson was impeached, and narrowly escaped conviction.

Andrew Johnson belonged to the poor whites of the South. He was born on December 29, 1808, at Raleigh, North Carolina, and when but three years old lost his father. At the age of ten Andrew was apprenticed to a tailor, and did not learn to read till later. At sixteen he ran away to South Carolina, where he obtained employment as a journeyman tailor. Two years later he removed with his mother and step-father to Greenville, Tennessee, where he married. His wife taught him to write and cipher. At the age of twenty he joined in organizing a Workingmen's Party, and by their aid was soon elected alderman. His activity in a young men's debating society made him popular. From 1830 for three years he was mayor, and afterwards held other local positions. In 1835 he was elected to the State Legislature, and there opposed the incurring of a debt of \$4,000,000 for macadamized roads. This caused his defeat at the next elec-

tion, but when his prophecies as to the waste of money proved true, he was restored to office. In 1841 he was elected to the State Senate, and two years later was sent to Congress. Here he supported the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, and the Tariff of 1846, and proved himself a steadfast Southern Democrat.

Johnson was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1853, and after an exciting contest was re-elected two years later. The character of this election is shown by what occurred at the opening of a meeting. Johnson laid a pistol on the desk, and said: "Fellow-citizens, I have been informed that part of the business to be transacted on the present occasion is the assassination of the individual who now has the honor of addressing you. I beg respectfully to propose that this be the first business in order. Therefore, if any man has come here to-night for the purpose indicated, I do not say to him, 'Let him speak,' but, 'Let him shoot.'" He paused for a minute with his hand on his pistol, and then said: "Gentlemen, it appears that I have been misinformed. I will now proceed to address you on the subject which has called us together."

In 1857 Governor Johnson was elected to the United States Senate. Here he was an urgent advocate of a Homestead Bill, giving 160 acres of public land to any citizen who would settle upon it and cultivate it for a certain number of years. Although the bill had been passed by more than a two-thirds vote in each House, yet when vetoed by President Buchanan it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds. Johnson opposed the increase of the standing army on account of troubles in Utah, and obtained a modification which authorized the raising of two regiments of volunteers. He also opposed the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. On questions relating to slavery Johnson took the extreme Southern view, except that he insisted on the preservation of the Union. At the Democratic National Convention of 1860 he supported Breckinridge in opposition to Douglas. In December he delivered a speech in the Senate denouncing the Secession movement. Tennessee was divided on the question. After the people voted down a State Convention, the legislature adopted a resolution for secession. When Johnson returned

home in May, 1861, his life was in danger on account of his adherence to the Union. He was conspicuous at the East Tennessee Union Convention held at Cincinnati, May 30th. His wife and child were driven from their homes. For the relief of Unionist refugees from East Tennessee Camp Dick Robinson was formed in Kentucky by the United States Government at Johnson's suggestion, and many companies of volunteers were there organized and mustered into service.

In March, 1862, President Lincoln appointed Johnson military governor of Tennessee. When he entered on his duties at Nashville he issued a proclamation, giving a history of the way in which the State had been brought into hostility with the Federal Government, and declaring that national authority had been restored. He announced his purpose to appoint necessary state and county officers until order could be restored. When the mayor and council of Nashville refused to take the oath of allegiance, he declared their offices vacant, and appointed other citizens in their place. To protect Unionists from roving bands of Secessionists he ordered that whenever a Union man was maltreated five rebels of the neighborhood should be arrested, imprisoned, or otherwise dealt with; where the property of Union men was taken or destroyed, remuneration should be made from the property of rebels of the vicinity. In other ways he pursued his policy of making treason odious. Thus he came to be regarded with high favor by Northern Republicans.

In June, 1864, the Republican National Convention, after nominating President Lincoln for re-election, nominated Governor Johnson for the Vice-Presidency. This was done at the secret suggestion of Lincoln to a few influential leaders of the party. The ticket was successful in November, and in March, 1865, Lincoln and Johnson were inaugurated. Johnson, who was ill and nervous, drank some brandy, and, under the influence of the liquor, delivered an incoherent address in the Senate chamber, which filled his hearers with grief and shame. President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14th, and died the next morning. By the advice of the cabinet Johnson took the oath of office at once. A speech he delivered two days later excited alarm at the severity threatened to traitors and seces-

sionists. He proceeded to undo the work of secession in the Southern States and to re-establish civil government under the Constitution and laws of the United States. For this purpose he placed over each State a provisional governor, who called a convention of loyal citizens. These conventions and legislatures repudiated secession and the Confederate debt, abolished slavery and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. They, however, passed laws so restricting the negroes as almost to restore slavery. But when Congress met in December the Senators and Representatives from the seceded States were refused seats, and acts were passed to protect the freedmen. Among these were the Civil Rights bill and Freedmen's Bureau bill, which were passed over the President's veto. The Fourteenth Amendment was also proposed and the ratification of it by the Southern States made a condition of their re-admittance to Congress.

President Lincoln had made some attempts to reconstruct State governments in the seceded States, but Congress had not assented to his plan. Johnson, taking up the same plan, called it "my policy," and denounced the opposition of Congress as a new rebellion. The cabinet formed by Lincoln, was retained by Johnson, but in July, 1866, three members withdrew on account of disagreement with the President. In August a convention of delegates from every State was held in Philadelphia to express approval of Johnson's policy and form a new Union party. Soon afterward President Johnson, with some of his Cabinet, General Grant and others, went to Chicago to lay the corner-stone of the monument to Stephen A. Douglas. At every stopping-place the President addressed the assembled crowd discussing his policy and vigorously denouncing Congress. From an expression which he frequently used this tour became known as "swinging around the circle," and caused general disgust. The ensuing elections were strongly in favor of the Republicans.

In the next session of Congress acts, with reference to granting the elective franchise to negroes, were passed over the President's veto. In March, 1867, a Tenure-of-office act was passed, prohibiting the President from removing any person from office without the consent of the Senate. Congress also

divided the seceding States into military districts, the commanders of which should supervise the civil government in them. The President appointed these commanders, and, when trouble arose from conflict of authority, changed them. Thus General Hancock was substituted for General Sheridan in Louisiana. In August President Johnson suspended E. M. Stanton from office as Secretary of War, and appointed General Grant secretary *ad interim*. Stanton submitted under protest until the next meeting of Congress in September. The President then informed the Senate of his reasons for removing Stanton, but that body disapproved his action, and General Grant restored the office to Stanton. In February, 1868, President Johnson again removed Stanton and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas secretary *ad interim*.

In consequence of these and other actions the House of Representatives in March, 1868, impeached the President for high crimes and misdemeanors. The trial before the Senate began on March 23d; Chief Justice Chase presided, and President Johnson was represented by able counsel. After exhaustive arguments the vote was taken in May and stood: Guilty, 35; not guilty, 19. Seven Republican Senators had separated from the majority of their party, believing that Johnson had not exceeded his constitutional rights. One vote was thus lacking of the two-thirds constitutionally required to convict, and the President was formally acquitted. Stanton thereupon resigned, and General John M. Schofield was made Secretary of War.

At the Democratic National Convention held in New York July 4, 1868, Johnson was a candidate for the Presidential nomination, but the honor was given to Governor Horatio Seymour. Before retiring from the Presidency in March, 1869, Johnson gave a full pardon to all who had participated in the Rebellion. He was succeeded in office by General U. S. Grant. Johnson made repeated attempts to return to public life, and in January, 1875, he was elected by the Tennessee legislature to the United States Senate. He did not long survive, but died July 31, 1875. His faithful wife, who had been little seen in Washington society, owing to impaired health, survived him a year.

Andrew Johnson was of Scotch-Irish descent, and showed in his career the stubborn, self-reliant character of that race. He was a lover of justice and fair dealing, and had risen to power by his opposition to oligarchic land-owners. When he became President he endeavored to carry out the mild policy of Lincoln in restoring the seceded States. Firmly persuaded that legally they had never been out of the Union, he threw all the blame of secession and war on the leaders whom he had always opposed. But when their friends sought his favor, he could not resist their concerted appeals. He easily renewed the prejudices of his early connections, and forsook the party by whose votes he had been elected. The conflict of opinion was disastrous both to himself and the country.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

The formal presentment of the charges against the President at the bar of the Senate, presided over by the Chief Justice [Chase] of the United States, and sitting as a Court of Impeachment, was made on the fifth day of March, 1868, when the House of Representatives, the grand inquest of the nation, attended the managers as they came to the discharge of their solemn duty. Mr. John A. Bingham, the chairman of the Managers, read the articles of impeachment against Andrew Johnson. At the conclusion of the reading the Senate adjourned to the 13th, when the counsel of the President appeared and asked that forty days be allowed for the preparation of his answer to the charges. The time was regarded as unreasonably long, and the Senate voted to adjourn until the 23d of March, when it was expected that the President's counsel would present his answer. The President's cause was represented by an imposing array of ability and legal learning. The Attorney-General, Henry Stanbery, had, from an impulse of chivalric devotion, resigned his post for the purpose of defending his chief. His reputation as a lawyer was of the first rank in the West, where for nearly forty years he had been prominent in his profession. But though first named, on account of his personal and official relations with the President, he was not the leading counsel. The two men upon whom the success of the President's cause chiefly rested were Judge Curtis and Mr. Evarts.

Benjamin R. Curtis, when he appeared in the impeachment case, was in the fullness of his powers, in the fifty-ninth year of

his age. At forty-one he had been appointed to the Supreme Bench of the United States at the earnest request and warm recommendation of Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State. Mr. Webster is reported to have said that he had placed the people of Massachusetts under lasting obligation to him by inducing Governor Lincoln, in 1830, to appoint Lemuel Shaw Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, a position which he honored and adorned for thirty years. Mr. Webster thought he was doing an equal service to the people of the entire Union when he induced the President to call Mr. Curtis to the Supreme Bench. But judicial life had not proved altogether agreeable to Judge Curtis, and after a remarkable and brilliant career of six years he resigned in October, 1857, and returned to the practice of the law—his learning increased, his mind enriched and broadened by the grave national questions engaging the attention of the court during the period of his service. Thenceforward during his life no man at the bar of the United States held higher rank. He was entirely devoted to his profession. He had taken no interest in party strife, and with the exception of serving two sessions in the Massachusetts Legislature he had never held a political office. In arguing a cause his style was peculiarly felicitous—simple, direct, clear. In the full maturity of his powers, and with all the earnestness of his nature, he engaged in the President's defense; and he brought to it a wealth of learning, a dignity of character, an impressiveness of speech, which attracted the admiration and respect of all who had the good fortune to hear his great argument.

William M. Evarts, who was associated with him, was nine years the junior of Mr. Curtis. He had followed his profession with equal devotion, and, like his illustrious colleague, had never been deflected from its pursuit by participation in the honors of political life. His career had been in the city of New York, where, against all the rivalry of the metropolitan bar, he had risen so rapidly that at forty years of age his victory of precedence was won and his high rank established. A signal tribute was paid to his legal ability and his character when, in the early stages of the Civil War, the National Government sent him abroad on an important and delicate errand in connection with our international relations—an errand which could be safely entrusted only to a great lawyer. As an advocate Mr. Evarts early became conspicuous, and, in the best sense, famous. But he is more than an advocate. He is an orator—affluent in diction, graceful in manner,

with all the rare and rich gifts which attract and entrance an audience. He possesses a remarkable combination of wit and humor, and has the happy faculty of using both effectively, without inflicting deadly wounds, without incurring hurtful enmities. Differing in temperament and in manner from Judge Curtis, the two seemed perfectly adapted for professional co-operation, and united they constituted an array of counsel as strong as could be found at the English-speaking bar.

It was expected that Judge Jeremiah S. Black would add his learning and ability to the President's counsel, but at the last moment before the trial began he withdrew, and his place was filled by William S. Groesbeck, of Cincinnati. Mr. Groesbeck was favorably known to the country by his service as a Democratic representative in the Thirty-sixth Congress, but little had been heard of his legal learning outside of Ohio. He took no part in the conduct of the impeachment case, but his final argument was a surprise to the Senate and to his professional brethren, and did much to give him a high reputation as a lawyer. The counsel for the President was completed by the addition of a confidential friend from his own State, Hon. T. A. R. Nelson. Mr. Nelson had been closely associated with Mr. Johnson in the Tennessee struggles for the Union, had gained reputation as a representative in the Thirty-sixth Congress and had acquired a good standing at the bar of his State.

The answer of the President to the articles of impeachment having been presented on the 23d, the replication of the House duly made and all other preliminary and introductory steps completed, the actual trial began on Monday, the 30th day of March, when General Butler, one of the managers on behalf of the House of Representatives, made the opening argument. It was very voluminous, prepared with great care in writing and read to the Senate from printed slips. It was accompanied by a brief of authorities upon the law of impeachable crimes and misdemeanors, prepared by Hon. William Lawrence, of Ohio, with characteristic industry and learning. While every point in the charges preferred by the House was presented by General Butler with elaboration, the weight of his argument against the President lay in the fact that the removal of Mr. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War was, as he averred, an intentional violation of the Tenure-of-office Act, an intentional violation of the Constitution of the United States. This was set forth in every possible form and argued in every possible phase, with the well-known ability

of General Butler, and though other charges were presented against the President, the House of Representatives relied mainly upon this alleged offense for his conviction.

At the conclusion of General Butler's argument the managers submitted their testimony in support of the charges brought by the House. Some twenty-five witnesses in all were introduced by the prosecution. Many of them were merely for the verification of official papers which were submitted in evidence. The President's speeches defaming Congress were produced and sworn to by the reporters who took the notes when the President delivered them. The managers concluded their testimony on the fourth day of April, and the Senate took a recess for five days.

On the 9th of April Judge Curtis of the President's counsel opened for the defense. . . . Judge Curtis consumed two days in the delivery of his argument. He made a deep impression, not only on the members of the Senate, but on all who had the privilege of hearing him. His manner was quiet and undemonstrative, with no gestures, and with no attempt at loud talk. His language expressed his meaning with precision. There was no deficiency and no redundancy. He seldom used a word more or a word less than was needed to give elegance to his diction, explicitness to his meaning, completeness to his logic. He analyzed every argument of the Impeachment with consummate skill. Those who dissented from his conclusions united with those who assented to them in praise of his masterly presentment of the President's defense,

After Judge Curtis had concluded, witnesses were called on behalf of the President. The struggle that followed for the admission or exclusion of testimony obviously strengthened the President's case in popular opinion, which is always influenced by considerations of what is deemed fair play. Exclusion of testimony by an arbitrary vote on mere technical objections, especially where men equally learned in the law differ as to its competency and relevancy, is not wise in a political case that depends for its ultimate judgment upon the sober thought of the people. The managers of the House objected to the admission of the testimony [that Secretary Stanton had helped to prepare the veto of the Tenure of Office bill], and the question of its admissibility was argued at length by General Butler, by Judge Curtis, and by Mr. Evarts. Chief Justice Chase decided "that the testimony is admissible for the purpose of showing the intent with which the President had acted in this transaction." Mr. Howard of Michi-

gan thereupon demanded that the question be submitted to the Senate, and by a vote of 29 to 20 the decision of the Chief Justice was overruled and the testimony excluded. This exclusion impressed the public most unfavorably.

The testimony on both sides having been concluded, on the 22d of April General John A. Logan, one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives, filed his argument in the case. It was carefully prepared, well written, and throughout logical in its analysis. It was uncompromisingly pungent in tone and severe in its method of dealing with President Johnson. "The world," said General Logan, "in after times will read the history of the administration of Andrew Johnson as an illustration of the depth to which political and official perfidy can descend. His great aim and purpose has been to subvert law, usurp authority, insult and outrage Congress, reconstruct the rebel States in the interest of treason, and insult the memories and resting-places of our heroic dead."

Mr. Boutwell on the two succeeding days made a strong arraignment of the President. Indeed he made all that well could be made out of the charges preferred by the House. He exhibited throughout his address the earnestness and the eloquence which come from intense conviction. He believed that the President had committed high crimes and misdemeanors, and he believed that the safety of the Republic required his removal from office. With this belief his argument was of course impressive. "The House of Representatives," said he in closing, "have presented this criminal at your bar with equal confidence in his guilt and in your disposition to administer exact justice between him and the people of the United States. I do not contemplate his acquittal; it is impossible. Therefore I do not look beyond; but, Senators, the people of the United States of America will never permit a usurping Executive to break down the securities for liberty provided in the Constitution. The cause of the Republic is in your hands. Your verdict of Guilty is Peace to our beloved country." Mr. Nelson of Tennessee followed Mr. Boutwell with a long and earnest plea in behalf of the President, somewhat effusive in its character, but distinguished for the enthusiasm with which he defended his personal friend.

Mr. Groesbeck next addressed the Senate on behalf of the President. He made a clear, forcible presentation of the grounds of defense. Mr. Boutwell had asserted "that the President cannot prove or plead the motive by which he professes to have been

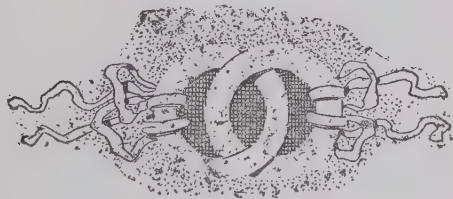
governed in his violation of the laws of the country. . . . The necessary, the inevitable presumption in law is that he acted under the influence of bad motives in so doing, and no evidence can be introduced controlling or coloring in any degree this necessary presumption of the law." In reviewing this position, Mr. Groesbeck reminded the Senate that President Lincoln had "claimed and exercised the power of organizing military commissions under which he arrested and imprisoned citizens within the loyal States. He had no act of Congress warranting it, and the Supreme Court had decided that the act was against the express provisions of the Constitution. According to the gentleman on the other side, then, Mr. Lincoln must be convicted. . . . The gentleman seems to acknowledge that there must be a motive. There can be no crime without motive, but when the party comes forward and offers to prove his motive, the answer is, 'You shall not prove it.' When he comes forward and offers to prove it from his warm, loving heart, the answer is, 'We will make up your motive out of the presumptions of law and conclude you upon that subject. We will not hear you.'"

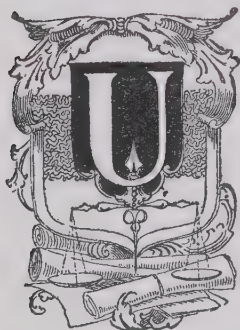
When the counsel on both sides had finished, a certain period was allowed for Senators to prepare and file their opinions on the case. This was done by twenty-nine Senators, and the question was thus re-argued with consummate ability, for the Senate contained a number of lawyers of high rank and long experience at the bar. On the 11th of May the Senate was ready to vote, and the interest in the result was intense. There had been much speculation as to the position of certain Senators, but as all the members of the body had maintained discreet silence during the trial, it was impossible to forecast the result with any degree of certainty. The only judgment that had the least significance was founded on the votes given to admit or to reject certain testimony proposed by the President's counsel. This of course gave no certain indication of the vote of the Senators; though the general belief was that the impeachment would fail. The transfer of the entire House to the floor of the Senate, the galleries crowded with citizens from all parts of the Republic, the presence of all the foreign ministers in the Diplomatic Gallery eagerly watching the possible and peaceful deposition of a sovereign ruler, the large attendance of the representatives of the press—all attested the profound impression which the trial had made and the intense anxiety with which its conclusion was awaited.

By an order of the Senate the first vote was taken on the last

Article, which was a summary of many of the charges set forth at greater length in some of the preceding Articles of Impeachment. Upon the call of his name each senator was required to rise and answer "Guilty" or "Not guilty." The roll was called in breathless silence, with hundreds of tally-papers in the hands of eager observers on the floor and in the gallery, carefully noting each response as given. The result, announced at once by the Chief Justice, showed that thirty-five senators had declared the President "guilty," and nineteen had declared him "not guilty." As conviction required two-thirds the Impeachment on the Eleventh Article had failed. A debate then arose on a proposition to rescind the resolution in regard to the order in which the vote should be taken upon the other Articles of Impeachment, but without reaching a conclusion, the Senate as a Court of Impeachment adjourned on motion of Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, until Tuesday, the 26th day of May.

During the intervening period of fifteen days the air was filled with rumors that the result would be different when the Senate should come to vote on the remaining Articles. A single senator changing against the President would give thirty-six for conviction, and leave only eighteen for acquittal. This would be fatal to the President, as it would give the two-thirds necessary for conviction. But it was not so ordained. When the Senate re-assembled on the 26th, the vote was taken on the Second Article, and then upon the Third, with precisely the same result as was previously reached on the Eleventh Article. When Mr. Ross, of Kansas, answered "Not guilty," there was an audible sensation of relief on the part of some, and of surprise on the part of others, showing quite plainly that rumor had been busy with his name as that of the senator who was expected to change his position. Satisfied that further voting was useless, the Senate abandoned the remaining Articles, and as a Court of Impeachment adjourned *sine die*.—J. G. BLAINE.





UNFLINCHINGLY honest, untiringly patriotic, was Lincoln's great War Secretary. In his intense devotion to the Union he abandoned the labors of a profession in which he had won notable triumphs, and gave his days and nights and all the powers of mind and body to the salvation of his country. His soul rejoiced in the nation's complete tri-

umph amid the shock of arms, and then was grieved to see the fruits of victory slip from its nerveless grasp. His noble battle for the life of the nation was turned into ignoble strife for an office not worth the struggle. His countrymen have been slow in rendering to his memory the tribute which his self-sacrifice deserved.

Edwin McMasters Stanton was born at Steubenville, Ohio, December 19, 1814. His father, a physician, died while Edwin was a child. Obligated to work for his own support, he yet spent two years in Kenyon College before he began the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1836, and in the next year was elected prosecuting attorney. From 1842 he was for three years reporter for the Ohio Supreme Court. In 1848 he removed to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where his practice grew largely. In 1857, on account of his large business in the United States Supreme Court, he transferred his office to Washington. One of his notable cases was in regard to the Manny and McCormick reaper. The trial was before the United States Circuit Court at Cincinnati in 1857, and Stanton was associated with George Harding, of Philadelphia, and Abraham Lincoln. Harding was the master of the me-

chanical details, and Stanton imperiously usurped the arguments on the law. Lincoln felt hurt at Stanton's rudeness both in act and words. Stanton's ability as a lawyer was universally admitted, and the Government sent him to California to conduct certain important land cases, which he did with success. On his return he conducted the defence of Daniel E. Sickles, who had killed Philip Barton Key for seducing his wife. Sickles had been secretary of the American legation at London while Buchanan was minister to England. Stanton strenuously guarded his client from the admission of damaging evidence, and pleaded effectively his right to punish the invader of his household.

Stanton, like many other Democrats of the Jackson school, was opposed to slavery, but submitted to the restraints of the Federal Constitution. He strongly opposed the election of Lincoln as a sectional candidate. In December, 1860, when Cass retired from President Buchanan's Cabinet, and Jeremiah S. Black was made Secretary of State, Stanton was called to succeed the latter as Attorney General. The reconstructed Cabinet took a firmer stand for defence of the Union, but the secession movement could not be checked. Stanton, still swayed by his prejudice against Lincoln, continued to denounce his acts as President and the corruption of the administration. His opinions were well known, and were frequently communicated to General McClellan. Stanton was therefore amazed when in January, 1862, Harding brought him a request from the President that he, as an earnest War Democrat, would become Secretary of War to succeed Simon Cameron. Overcome with this generosity, Stanton said, "Tell him that such magnanimity will make me work with him as man was never served." Stanton kept his word. He drove out the fraudulent contractors and established honesty and fair dealing in the War Department. He supplied the generals in the field with what they required, and insisted on their accomplishing results in turn. His eyes were opened to General McClellan's sluggishness and irresolution. He joined heartily in all the President's efforts to force him to an aggressive campaign, and when baffled insisted on his removal. On the other hand, Stanton promptly recognized and praised all generals

who showed vigor and zeal. He called to his aid Thomas A. Scott, the ablest railroad man of the country, to transport men and stores as needed. Charles A. Dana was sent to the different camps to report on the efficiency of the generals and condition of the troops. The result was faithful support of those who did their duty. Stanton approved the selection of General Grant for his successive commands, and always loyally supported him. The result was final victory.

After General Lee had surrendered at Appomattox, General Sherman offered to General J. E. Johnston terms which included civil as well as military affairs, subject to approval at Washington. Before they reached the capital President Lincoln had been assassinated, and other officers of the government had been attacked. Secretary Stanton, full of rage, publicly denounced the terms as sacrificing all the fruits of victory. Sherman, who believed that he had been carrying out President Lincoln's wishes, was indignant and mortified. General Grant visited him privately and soothed his wounded feelings. But at the grand review in Washington, May, 1865, Sherman refused Stanton's proffered hand.

President Johnson had retained the former cabinet, but as his policy of restoring the seceded States was developed, some members withdrew. Stanton took sides with the Republican leaders of Congress who demanded a thorough reconstruction of the Southern States, securing to the freedmen the right of suffrage. They framed a bill which was passed in March, 1867, in spite of the President's veto. It divided the South into military districts, and the commanders were under the supervision of the Secretary of War. The Tenure of office bill was also passed to restrict the President's power of removal. In August the President requested Stanton's resignation, but Senator Sumner telegraphed to him, "Stick," and he refused to give up his office before the next meeting of Congress. The President suspended him and appointed General Grant in his place. When Congress met, the Senate refused to ratify the suspension, and Stanton resumed his office. In February, 1868, the President removed Secretary Stanton and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas Secretary *ad interim*. But Stanton, sustained by the Senate, refused to

surrender the office. The impeachment of President Johnson followed, and on May 26th he was acquitted. Stanton, regarding this action as finally decisive of the controversy, withdrew. Although Stanton's course in this unfortunate quarrel with the President was approved at the time by the Republican leaders, the sober judgment of historians is that it was unjustifiable for any one to remain in the cabinet for the purpose of thwarting the administration. The Tenure of office act was speedily repealed when General Grant became President.

Stanton resumed the practice of law at Washington. His constitution was shattered by the severe strain of his official work. He deemed himself neglected and brooded over his condition. In December, 1869, President Grant, at the suggestion of Senator Wade, appointed him a Justice of the Supreme Court, and the Senate immediately confirmed the appointment. But it came too late. Stanton died on December 24, 1869.

Stanton was a large man with massive head, thickly covered with brown hair, the lower part of his face being covered with a heavy beard, but without moustache. He was intensely industrious and thoroughly absorbed in whatever work he undertook. In law he was a vehement advocate; in office he was a fierce opponent of all who stood in the way of his imperious will. He was liable to the mistakes of impulsiveness and extreme partisanship. As Secretary of War under Lincoln he performed inestimable service to his country; under Johnson he was in a false position, from which a mistaken sense of duty prevented his timely withdrawal.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S REMOVAL OF STANTON.

A train of circumstances, not unnaturally growing out of the political situation, led in August (1867) to the renewal of the scheme of impeachment because of the President's attempt to appoint a new Secretary of War. The President himself narrates what he had done to secure the resignation of Mr. Stanton: "I had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived when it was proper for Mr. Stanton to retire from my Cabinet. The mutual confidence and general accord which should exist in such a rela-

tion had ceased. I supposed that Mr. Stanton was well advised that his continuance in the Cabinet was contrary to my wishes, for I had repeatedly given him so to understand by every mode short of an express request that he should resign." On the fifth day of August the President addressed Mr. Stanton a brief note in these words: "Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted." Mr. Stanton replied immediately, acknowledging the receipt of the letter and adding: "I have the honor to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this Department, constrain me not to resign the Secretaryship of War before the next meeting of Congress."

Not acting with angry haste, but reflecting for a week upon the situation resulting from Mr. Stanton's refusal to resign, the President, on the 12th of August, suspended him from the Secretaryship of War under the power conferred by the Tenure-of-office Act, and added in a note to him: "You will at once transfer to General Ulysses S. Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers and other public property now in your custody and charge." Mr. Stanton replied to the President: "Under a sense of public duty I am compelled to deny your right under the Constitution and laws of the United States, without the advice and consent of the Senate and without legal cause, to suspend me from the office of Secretary of War, or the exercise of any of the functions pertaining to the same; but inasmuch as the General commanding the armies of the United States has been appointed *ad interim* and has notified me that he has accepted the appointment, I have no alternative but to submit, under protest, to superior force." It is evident that General Grant and his legal advisers saw no force in Mr. Stanton's denial of the President's power to suspend him from office. The General's acceptance of the Secretaryship of War was plain proof that he recognized the President's course as entirely lawful and constitutional. General Grant's willingness to succeed Mr. Stanton was displeasing to a certain class of Republicans, who thought he was thereby strengthening the position of the President; but the judgment of the more considerate was that as Mr. Johnson had determined in any event to remove Mr. Stanton, it was wise in General Grant to accept the trust and thus prevent it from falling into mischievous and designing hands.

By the provisions of the Tenure-of-office Law the President was under obligation to communicate the suspension to the Senate, with his reasons therefor, within twenty days after its next meeting. He did this in his message of the 12th of December (1867), in which he reviewed with much care the relations between himself and the Secretary of War. He certainly exhibited to an impartial judge, uninfluenced by personal or party motives, strong proof of the utter impossibility of Mr. Stanton and himself working together harmoniously in the administration of the Government. If the President of the United States has the right to constitutional advisers who are personally agreeable to him and who share his personal confidence, then surely Mr. Johnson gave unanswerable proof that Mr. Stanton should not remain a member of his Cabinet. But the Senate was not influenced either by the general considerations affecting the case or by the special reasons submitted by the President. The question was not finally decided by the Senate until the 13th of January (1868), when by a party vote it was declared that "having considered the evidence and reasons given by the President in his report of December 12, 1867, for the suspension of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War, the Senate does not concur in such suspension." The Secretary of the Senate was instructed to send an official copy of the resolution to the President, to Mr. Stanton, and to General Grant.

Upon receipt of the resolution of the Senate, General Grant at once locked the door of the Secretary's office, handed the key to the adjutant-general, left the War Department building and resumed his post at army headquarters on the opposite side of the street. Secretary Stanton soon after took possession of his old office as quietly and unceremoniously as if he had left it but an hour before. Perhaps with some desire to emphasize the change of situation, he dispatched a messenger to headquarters to say in the phrase of the ranking position that "the Secretary desires to see General Grant." General Grant did not like the way in which Mr. Stanton resumed control of the War Office. He did not think that he had been treated with the same courtesy which he had shown to Mr. Stanton when he succeeded him the preceding August. In fact he had not expected, nor did he desire, the restoration of Mr. Stanton, and but for differences that arose between him and the President, might have used his influence against Mr. Stanton's remaining. He had, indeed, warmly seconded a suggestion of General Sherman (who was then in Wash-

ington), made the day after Mr. Stanton's restoration, that the President should immediately nominate Governor Cox, of Ohio, for Secretary of War.

The President did not accept the suggestion respecting the name of Governor Cox. His chief purpose was to get rid of Mr. Stanton, and he did not believe the Senate would consent in any event to his removal. He expressed surprise that General Grant did not hold the office until the question of Mr. Stanton's constitutional right to resume it could be judicially tested. A heated controversy ensued a fortnight later on this point, leading to the exchange of angry letters between the President and General Grant. Mr. Johnson alleged that the fair understanding was that General Grant should, by retaining his portfolio, aid in bringing the case before the Supreme Court of the United States. General Grant denied this with much warmth, declaring in a letter addressed to the President that the latter had made "many and gross misrepresentations concerning this subject." It was doubtless in the beginning a perfectly honest misapprehension between the two. General Grant had on a certain occasion remarked that "Mr. Stanton would have to appeal to the courts to re-instate him," and the President, hastily perhaps, but not unnaturally, assumed that by this language General Grant meant that he would himself aid in bringing the matter to judicial arbitrament. But the President ought to have seen and realized that such a step would be altogether foreign to the duty of the commander of the army, and that with General Grant's habitual prudence, he never could have intended to provoke a controversy with Congress and get himself entangled in the meshes of the Tenure-of-office Law. The wrath of both men was fully aroused, and the controversy closed by leaving them enemies for life—unreconciled, irreconcilable.

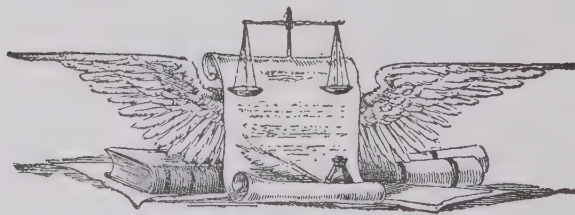
It must not be forgotten that if the Senate had consented to the removal of Mr. Stanton, as was confidently anticipated from the expressions of opinion above quoted, no new Secretary could have been installed without the Senate's explicit consent, and that meanwhile the War Department would remain under the control of General Grant, in whose prudent and upright discharge of duty every senator had perfect confidence. The complaint of the President's friends, therefore, was that senators, while perfectly able to exclude from the control of the War Department a man in whom they had no confidence, demanded that the President should retain at the head of that department an officer in whom he had no confidence. Hence it was that for the first time in the

history of the United States, an officer distasteful to the President and personally distrusted and disliked by him was forced upon him as one of his confidential advisers in the administration of the government. In the *prima facie* statement of this case the Senate was in the wrong. Upon the record of its votes and the expression of opinion by its own members, the Senate was in the wrong. The history of every preceding administration and of every subsequent administration of the Federal Government proves that the Senate was in the wrong.

The situation in which the President was left by this action was anomalous and embarrassing. One of the most important departments of the government—especially important at that era—was left under the control of a man with whom he did not even hold personal relations. If this could be done in one department it could with equal justice be done in all, and the extraordinary spectacle would be presented of each Executive Department under the control of an officer, who in matters of personal feeling and in public policy was deadly hostile to the President of the United States. Even those who insisted most warmly upon Mr. Stanton's being retained in his position, must have seen that such a course would contradict the theory of the National Constitution and be in direct contravention of the practice of the Federal Government. Every one could see that these circumstances had brought about an unnatural situation—a situation that must in some way be relieved. It presented a condition of affairs for which there was no precedent, and the wisest could not foresee to what end it might lead.

The issue was brought to a head by the President, who informed the Senate on the 21st of February (1868), that in the exercise of the power and authority vested in him by the Constitution of the United States, he had that day removed Mr. Stanton from office and designated the Adjutant-General of the Army—Lorenzo Thomas—as Secretary of War *ad interim*. The communication was received with great astonishment by the Senate, and with loud expressions of indignation against the President. With short debate and with little delay the Senate passed a resolution declaring "that under the Constitution and laws of the United States, the President has no power to remove the Secretary of War and to designate any other officer to perform the duties of that office *ad interim*." The Senate could do no more than express and record this opinion, but it did that promptly, resentfully, almost passionately.

The House took up the matter in hot temper and in hot haste. A flagrant offense against the Constitution and the laws had, in the judgment of a majority of its members, been committed by the President. In defiance of the letter and spirit of the Tenure-of-office Act he had removed the Secretary of War from office. He had done this under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, because the Senate had passed upon all his reasons therefor when the question of Mr. Stanton's suspension was before that body; and if even the suspension was not justifiable, how very grave must be the offense of removing the Secretary from office! These views and the discussion to which they led engrossed the attention of the House as soon as it was known that the President had sent a message to the Senate communicating his action in regard to Mr. Stanton. The Senate had no sooner recorded its dissent from the Executive power of removal than Mr. Covode, of Pennsylvania, on the same day, rose to a privileged question in the House and offered a resolution that "Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." The resolution was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction and the House adjourned. On the next day (February 22nd) Mr. Stevens, chairman of the Reconstruction Committee, reported the resolution back to the House with the recommendation that it pass, suggesting that the question might immediately be taken without debate. The vote on the resolution impeaching the President resulted in ayes 126, noes 47, not voting 17.—J. G. BLAINE.





PERHAPS no American has ever held so prominent a place in the councils of radically opposite parties as Benjamin F. Butler. Before the Civil War, though belonging to the strongly anti-slavery State of Massachusetts, he supported extreme Southern Democrats in their demands for the national endorsement of slavery. When the war commenced he was strenuous in defence of the Union and in freeing the slaves. As a military ruler in the South he became the most hated of the Union generals. After the war he was urgent beyond most Republicans for the complete subjugation of the South. When financial questions rose into prominence, he insisted on strict construction of the Government bonds against the money-lenders, and urged the inflation of the currency as a relief to the laboring classes. In spite of the external changes of party there can be discerned a curious consistency in his views and public career. But no man ever cared less to preserve a specious consistency.

Benjamin Franklin Butler was born at Deerfield, New Hampshire, November 5, 1818. His father, Captain John Butler, served under General Jackson at New Orleans, but left his son scant inheritance. Benjamin was graduated at Waterville College, Maine, in 1838, was admitted to the bar in 1840, and soon began to practice at Lowell, Massachusetts, where he was noted as a lawyer in criminal cases. Having felt the pinch of poverty, he sympathized with the poor in their struggles. As a Democrat, he was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1853, and to the State Senate in 1859. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Charleston in 1860. He endeavored to persuade

the Convention to repeat the platform adopted at Cincinnati in 1856, but was defeated by a vote of 105 to 198. He opposed the nomination of Douglas, and when part of the delegates reassembled at Baltimore, he took part with those who nominated Breckenridge, but finally withdrew on the plea that the African slave-trade had been approved by the convention. In the ensuing election Butler was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and was defeated. He was, however, brigadier-general of militia, and when President Lincoln called for troops in April, 1861, he set out for Washington with the Eighth Massachusetts regiment. As passage through Baltimore was obstructed, they went by steamboat from the Susquehanna to Annapolis, and opened communication with the capital. Having been placed in command of the district, Butler entered Baltimore on May 13th without opposition. Three days later he was made major-general, and took command of the Department of Eastern Virginia, with headquarters at Fort Monroe. Slaves who had come within his lines were demanded by their masters, but Butler refused to deliver them up, on the ingenious plea that they were contraband of war. In August he captured Forts Hatteras and Clark, on the coast of North Carolina.

General Butler returned to Massachusetts and organized land forces for the expedition to the lower Mississippi. In March, 1862, this expedition reached Ship Island, and on April 17th went up the Mississippi. After Commodore Farragut's fleet had reached New Orleans, General Butler took possession of the city on May 1st. The feeling of the whites in New Orleans was intensely bitter against the invaders, but General Butler ruled the city with great vigor. He hanged William Mumford for hauling down the U. S. flag from the Mint. He instituted strict sanitary regulations, and thus prevented an outbreak of yellow fever, from which the city had previously suffered every year. He levied on the property of the wealthy secessionists for the support of the poor of the city. When ladies persisted in insulting his soldiers and flag, he issued an order directing that in such cases they should be "treated as women of the town plying their vocation." The order at once put a stop to the prac-

tice, but its terms evoked fierce resentment throughout the South. Butler was henceforth called "Beast Butler," and Jefferson Davis in December issued a proclamation declaring him an outlaw. Early in May Butler seized \$800,000 that had been deposited in the office of the Dutch consul, claiming that it was intended for the purchase of arms for the Confederates. The foreign consuls protested, and the Government at Washington, after investigation, ordered the money to be released. Charges have been freely made against General Butler for appropriating private property to his own use, but these he effectually disproved. His rule over a highly sensitive, disaffected population was so wise and firm as to preserve order with little employment of force, though severe criticisms were made and the representatives of foreign governments entered complaints. In December, 1862, the authorities at Washington thought it best to recall General Butler, probably because these criticisms affected public opinion at the North. Before leaving New Orleans he delivered a memorable farewell address to the citizens, defending his administration.

Towards the close of 1863 General Butler was again placed in command at Fort Monroe, his department nearly coinciding with that which he formerly held. His force was afterwards designated the Army of the James, and formed the left wing of the combined forces under General Grant in 1864. When the movement against Richmond was begun, Butler seized City Point at the mouth of the Appomattox, and might have captured Petersburg had he moved promptly. On May 16th he was attacked by Beauregard at Drury's Bluff and forced back. His position between the James and the Appomattox was naturally strong for defence, but the enemy had entrenchments across the space between the rivers. Hence Butler was practically "bottled up," as General Grant expressed the situation, and was prevented from being of service in that campaign. Most of his troops were transferred to the Army of the Potomac. In December Butler formed a plan for capturing or destroying Fort Fisher, near Wilmington, North Carolina. A vessel was to be loaded with powder, towed close to the fort, and then exploded. Permission was

given by the Secretary of War to carry out his idea, and a land and naval expedition sent to the place. But the explosion did no harm, and the troops were withdrawn. In a second attempt troops were landed near the fort, but when it was discovered to be reinforced, Butler retired without attacking it, though Grant's orders had been positive that the attack should be made. Butler was therefore relieved of his command, and returned to Massachusetts.

In 1866 General Butler was elected to Congress as a Republican, and became at once a leader in the councils of the party, especially in regard to the measures for the reconstruction of the Southern States. He was the most active of the managers appointed by the House of Representatives to conduct the impeachment of President Johnson, and delivered the introductory speech, outlining the charges. When financial questions became pressing, Butler advocated the payment of the national bonds in legal tenders whenever gold was not specified in the bond. Republicans became dissatisfied with his course on these and other matters. In 1878 he was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts by the Independent Greenback party, but was defeated. Other nominations and defeats followed. At last he was elected, after an exciting campaign in 1882, as the Democratic candidate, though the rest of that party's State ticket was defeated. His election was highly distasteful to the aristocratic classes, and when as Governor he attended the commencement of Harvard University, the Trustees omitted to confer on him the honorary degree of LL.D., as had been the custom previously. Governor Butler made charges of gross mismanagement against the officers of the Tewksbury alms-house, but a committee of the legislature finally decided that they were not sustained. In 1883 Butler was renominated, and his partisans and opponents put forth all their powers in the contest. The result was his defeat, though he had polled a larger vote than in the year before. In 1884 Butler was nominated by the Greenback Labor party for the Presidency. He received 133,825 votes in the popular contest, but no electoral votes. He died at Washington, January 11, 1893.

BUTLER'S FAREWELL ADDRESS AT NEW ORLEANS.

(December, 1862.)

I shall speak in no bitterness, because I am not conscious of a single personal animosity. Commanding the Army of the Gulf, I found you captured, but not surrendered; conquered, but not orderly; relieved from the presence of an army, but incapable of taking care of yourselves. I restored order, punished crime, opened commerce, brought provisions to your starving people, reformed your currency and gave you quiet protection, such as you had not enjoyed for many years. The enemies of my country, unrepentant and implacable, I have treated with merited severity. I hold that rebellion is treason, and that treason persisted in is *death*, and any punishment short of that due a traitor gives so much clear gain to him from the clemency of the government. Upon this thesis have I administered the authority of the United States, because of which I am not unconscious of complaint. I do not feel that I have erred in too much harshness, for that harshness has ever been exhibited to disloyal enemies to my country, and not to my loyal friends. To be sure, I might have regaled you with the amenities of British civilization, and yet been within the supposed rules of civilized warfare. You might have been smoked to death in caverns, as were the Covenanters of Scotland, by the command of a general of the royal house of England; or roasted, like the inhabitants of Algiers, during the French campaign; your wives and daughters might have been given over to the ravisher, as were the unfortunate dames of Spain in the Peninsular war; or you might have been scalped and tomahawked, as our mothers were at Wyoming by the savage allies of Great Britain, in our own Revolution; your property could have been turned over to indiscriminate "loot," like the palace of the Emperor of China; works of art which adorned your buildings might have been sent away, like the paintings of the Vatican; your sons might have been blown from the mouths of cannon, like the Sepoys at Delhi; and yet all this would have been within the rules of civilized warfare as practiced by the most polished and the most hypocritical nations of Europe. For such acts the records of the doings of some of the inhabitants of your city toward the friends of the Union, before my coming, were a sufficient provocative and justification. But I have not so conducted. On the contrary, the worst punishment inflicted, except for crimi-

nal acts punishable by every law, has been banishment with labor to a barren island, where I encamped my own soldiers before marching here.

It is true I have levied upon the wealthy rebels, and paid out nearly half a million of dollars to feed forty thousand of the starving poor of all nations assembled here, made so by the war. I saw that this rebellion was a war of the aristocrats against the middling men—of the rich against the poor; a war of the land-owner against the laborer; that it was a struggle for the retention of power in the hands of the few against the many; and I found no conclusion to it, save in the subjugation of the few and the disenfranchisement of the many. I, therefore, felt no hesitation in taking the substance of the wealthy, who had caused the war, to feed the innocent poor, who had suffered by the war. And I shall now leave you with the proud consciousness that I carry with me the blessings of the humble and loyal, under the roof of the cottage and in the cabin of the slave, and so am quite content to incur the sneers of the *salon* or the curses of the rich.

I found you trembling at the terrors of servile insurrection. All danger of this I have prevented by so treating the slave that he had no cause to rebel. I found the dungeon, the chain and the lash your only means of enforcing obedience in your servants. I leave them peaceful, laborious, controlled by the laws of kindness and justice. I have demonstrated that the pestilence can be kept from your borders. I have added a million of dollars to your wealth in the form of new land from the batture of the Mississippi. I have cleansed and improved your streets, canals and public squares and opened new avenues to unoccupied land. I have given you freedom of elections greater than you have ever enjoyed before. I have caused justice to be administered so impartially that your own advocates have unanimously complimented the judges of my appointment. You have seen, therefore, the benefit of the laws and justice of the government against which you have rebelled. Why, then, will you not at all return to your allegiance to that government,—not with lip-service, but with the heart?

I conjure you, if you desire ever to see renewed prosperity, giving business to your streets and wharves—if you hope to see your city become again the mart of the Western world, fed by its rivers for more than three thousand miles, draining the commerce of a country greater than the mind of man hath ever conceived—return to your allegiance. If you desire to leave to your children the inheritance you received from your fathers—a stable consti-

tutional government ; if you desire that they should in the future be a portion of the greatest empire the sun ever shone upon—return to your allegiance.

There is but one thing that stands in the way. There is but one thing that at this hour stands between you and the government—and that is slavery. The institution, cursed of God, which has taken its last refuge here, in His providence will be rooted out as the tares from the wheat, although the wheat be torn up with it. I have given much thought to the subject. I came among you by teachings, by habit of mind, by political position, by social affinity, inclined to sustain your domestic laws, if by possibility they might be with safety to the Union. Months of experience and observation have forced the conviction that the existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety either of yourselves or of the Union. As the system has gradually grown to its present huge dimensions, it were best if it could gradually be removed ; but it is better, far better, that it should be taken out at once than that it should longer vitiate the social, political and family relations of your country. I am speaking with no philanthropic views as regards the slave, but simply of the effect of slavery on the master.

See for yourselves. Look around you and say whether this saddening, deadening influence has not all but destroyed the very framework of your society. I am speaking the farewell words of one who has shown his devotion to his country at the peril of his life and his fortune, who, in these words, can have neither hope nor interest, save the good of those he addresses ; but let me here repeat, with all the solemnity of an appeal to Heaven to bear me witness, that such are the views forced upon me by experience. Come, then, to the unconditional support of the government. Take into your own hands your own institutions ; remodel them according to the laws of nations and of God, and thus attain that great prosperity assured to you by geographical position, only a portion of which was heretofore yours.—B. F. BUTLER.





IN the hundredth year of the United States, the Union, which had been rescued by a costly and bloody war from secession, seemed again to be in danger from a disputed election. So doubtful was the result of the Presidential election in that year that an extra-constitutional tribunal was called into being to assist Congress in deciding the momentous question. That tribunal, aware of the risk in pushing its investigation too far, decided to accept the returns certified by the governors of the three disputed States. In the language of the day, it refused to go behind the returns. Congress acquiesced, and Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected President. Though the question whether he was in every respect duly elected is still disputed, no opposition was made to his inauguration or exercise of the office. His administration, in spite of serious obstacles, preserved peace, prosperity and financial honor to the nation.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born at Delaware, Ohio, on the 4th of October, 1822. His ancestry is traced to George Hayes, who came from England to Connecticut in 1680. His father, who had been a storekeeper at Dummerston, Vermont, removed to Ohio in 1817, with his wife and two children. Rutherford was born three months after his father's death. He was educated at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, and delivered the valedictory oration at his graduation in 1842. He studied law at Harvard University, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1845. He began practice at Lower Sandusky (now Fremont). In 1848 he was obliged to go to Texas on account of throat trouble. After his return he settled in Cincinnati, where he acquired a large practice. In 1852 he married Lucy W. Webb, the daughter of Dr. James Webb, a phy-

sician, of Chillicothe. Hayes in politics was originally a Whig, but joined in the formation of the Republican party in 1856. Two years later he was made city solicitor of Cincinnati.

On the outbreak of the Civil War the literary club to which Hayes belonged became a military company, and chose him as captain. In June, 1861, he was appointed major of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Regiment, and served in West Virginia. In October he was promoted lieutenant-colonel. At the battle of South Mountain September 14, 1862, he was severely wounded in the left arm while leading a charge. As soon as his wound was healed he returned to his regiment, being now colonel. In July, 1863, he was called from Virginia to Ohio, and assisted in capturing General John Morgan, who had led a daring raid from Kentucky. In 1864 Hayes was engaged in the Shenandoah Valley, and fought twice at Winchester. On one occasion, with about forty men, he captured a battery which had been so posted that it was considered safe from attack. At Fisher's Hill, on September 22, in pursuit of General Early, Hayes led a division across a difficult mountain, captured artillery and routed the enemy. His commission as brigadier-general was dated from the battle of Cedar Creek, October 19th, in which his gallantry was conspicuous. General Grant, in his "Personal Memoirs," bears testimony to the value of Hayes' military services. While in the field General Hayes was nominated for Congress, but refused to leave the army to canvass his district. His own words were: "An officer fit for duty who at this crisis would abandon his post to electioneer for a seat in Congress, ought to be scalped." His course was approved by his election by 2400 majority.

Entering Congress in December, 1865, when the most important question was the proper method of restoring the seceded States to their place in the Union, Hayes supported the reconstruction measures of the Republican party. In 1867 his prominence in his native State led to his election as governor. The Democrats, however, carried the legislature, and thus were able to send to the United States Senate Judge Allen G. Thurman, the defeated candidate for governor. In 1869 Hayes was again elected governor, defeating the Democratic candi-

date, United States Senator George H. Pendleton. The latter had been the most prominent advocate of paying the United States bonds in greenbacks whenever they were not expressly made payable in gold. This proposal had taken a firm hold of the Democratic party in Ohio, and many Republicans were drawn in the same direction. But Hayes was an unwavering supporter of coin payments. During his term he opposed the use of public offices as party spoils, and urged civil service reform.

In 1872 the opposition to the Republican party in Ohio, and especially in Cincinnati, had greatly increased. Hayes, against his wish, was nominated for Congress, but was defeated. In the next year he removed to Fremont, in Northern Ohio, and soon afterwards inherited a considerable estate from his uncle, Sardis Birchard. In 1875 Hayes was again made Republican candidate for governor. The contest was still over National, rather than State, issues. The financial policy of President Grant's administration had caused a contraction of the currency. Silver had been demonetized in 1873, the United States bonds were made payable in gold, and greenbacks were to be redeemable in specie in 1879. The Democrats wished to substitute irredeemable greenbacks for national bank notes, and to have the currency increased in accordance with the needs of trade. Hayes strongly resisted this policy of inflation and succeeded in turning the tide against it. After an arduous struggle he was for the third time elected governor.

The National Republican Convention in 1876 was held in Cincinnati. The leading candidate was James G. Blaine, but there were several rivals. Ohio presented the name of Hayes, and he obtained 61 votes on the first ballot. Soon the opposition to Blaine concentrated on Hayes, and he was nominated on the seventh ballot. Hayes in his letter of acceptance presented as the leading questions, civil service reform, an honest currency and the pacification of the South. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, who, as governor of New York, had become prominent as a reformer, especially in his attacks on the Canal Ring. There had been considerable dissatisfaction in the North with the acts and

policy of the Republican party. The full extent of the defection thus caused was not manifest until the reports of the election arrived in New York. It then appeared that Tilden had carried all the doubtful Northern States—New York, New Jersey, Indiana and Connecticut. With a solid South he had won the day. Even the Republican newspapers admitted defeat. But the Republican managers asserted that the negro voters in the South had been deprived of their rights by intimidation and force. Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina had Republican State governments. They had also canvassing boards that had power to reject the votes of any district in which the election was vitiated by fraud. The National Committees of both parties sent prominent representatives to watch the action of these boards. In each State the board declared the Republican electors chosen, and the governors sent certificates to that effect to Washington. But other sets of certificates were sent, certifying the Democratic electors to have been elected. If the former certificates were accepted Hayes would have altogether 185 votes, while Tilden had 184. The Senate had a Republican majority, the House a Democratic majority. There were many difficulties in the way of Congress coming to a satisfactory decision. Only a compromise could prevent a deadlock. When, therefore, Congress was confronted with the question, it appointed an Electoral Commission, composed of five Senators, five Representatives and five justices of the Supreme Court. This commission was devised by Democrats, and was supported chiefly by that party. Four of the justices were designated by the circuits to which they belonged, and these four were by the Act to select the fifth. It was expected that they would choose David Davis, of Illinois, who was considered neutral. But unexpectedly Davis was chosen Senator from Illinois, and Justice Bradley was then placed on the Commission. As the latter was a Republican the Commission stood, eight Republicans to seven Democrats. They met on January 31, 1877. In deciding the cases presented, they refused to go behind the returns, and merely certified which set of electors had received the legal sanction of State authority. In every case, by a strict party vote, they decided for the Hayes elec-

tors. The Commission adjourned on March 2d, and on the same day Congress accepted the result of their decision. Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio and William A. Wheeler of New York were thus declared elected President and Vice-President of the United States. They were inaugurated on Monday, March 5, 1877.

President Hayes made W. M. Evarts Secretary of State, John Sherman Secretary of the Treasury and Carl Schurz Secretary of the Interior. David M. Key, of Tennessee, though a Democrat, was made Postmaster-general. By this and other acts President Hayes showed his disposition to enter on an independent course, and to conciliate the South. He determined to withdraw the Federal troops which had been engaged in upholding Republican State governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. But he first obtained from Southern leaders assurances for the preservation of peace and order. As Congress had adjourned without making appropriations for the army, the President called an extra session to meet in October. In July strikes broke out among the men employed by railroads over a large part of the Northern States. The governors of Pennsylvania and other States called upon the President for military aid in suppressing the disorder. The Federal troops succeeded in restoring order without meeting any resistance, though the militia had some bloody encounters with rioters. In his efforts to institute civil service reform President Hayes was stoutly resisted by Congress. Members of his own party attacked and derided his policy. In spite of a veto the coinage of silver dollars was resumed and the government was required to purchase not less than \$2,000,000 worth of silver a month, and cause it to be coined as fast as purchased. Although there was also opposition to the necessary preparation for the resumption of specie payments, this measure was finally carried into effect on January 1, 1879, without disturbance of the money market.

There was serious trouble about political affairs in New York. President Hayes charged Chester A. Arthur, collector of the port, and Alonzo B. Cornell, naval officer, with conducting their offices so as to render public duty subordinate to partisan politics. This charge was strenuously denied by

those concerned. But the President removed these officers, and appointed General Edwin A. Merritt collector of customs at New York. The new incumbents were required to manage their offices on strict business principles. But this interference with local politics brought upon the President the bitter resentment of Senator Roscoe Conkling, who claimed the control of the patronage in New York.

In March, 1879, Congress adjourned without making appropriation for the expenses of the government. The House of Representatives had insisted on attaching a "rider" to the army bill repealing the law which permitted the use of troops to keep the peace at the polls on election days, and also similar riders to other appropriation bills, repealing laws for the appointment of supervisors of elections and special deputy marshals. The Senate rejected these riders. President Hayes called an extra session to meet March 18th. Both Houses were now Democratic. Actuated by an absurd terror of the traditional bugaboo of "force bills," they attached the riders as before, and sent the bills to the President. He returned them on April 29th with his veto. He showed that there had never been any military interference at any election, nor was there danger of any. He objected to the practice of tacking legislative provisions to appropriation bills as tending to make the House of Representatives despotic. Congress yielded so far as to pass the appropriation bills without the obnoxious riders, but endeavored to enact these provisions separately. Again in 1880 Congress endeavored in passing a deficiency appropriation bill to repeal certain parts of the election laws. When this encountered the President's veto, Congress withdrew the obnoxious clauses.

Throughout his term President Hayes, though sincere and upright, had to struggle against a wide-spread belief that his title to his office was fraudulent. From a high sense of duty to the people he had removed from the Southern States real causes of grievance and irritation, but he could not atone for the loss of the victory they believed had been won at the polls. Hence came their persistent opposition and refusal to be gratified. From the leaders of his own party whose vengeful policy he repudiated and whose extreme partisanship he con-

demned, President Hayes received unmerited contumely. The high moral tone of his administration has been slow in receiving its just tribute of praise. The success of the Republican party in 1880 was undoubtedly due in a large measure to the satisfaction of the people with the practical outcome of his administration. One of the minor features of his term was his wife's refusal to allow wine to be served in the White House. This innovation was censured by some politicians, but was applauded by the advocates of total abstinence.

President Hayes had, in his letter of acceptance, declared his inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for a second term. He was gratified at the election of General Garfield as his successor. Hayes retired to his home at Fremont, and thereafter devoted much of his time to public charitable and benevolent objects, such as the promotion of education in the South and prison-reform. He had the satisfaction of seeing his administration gradually grow in favor with the people. He died at Fremont, January 17, 1893.

Selfish politicians who had found their schemes baffled by President Hayes took their revenge by stigmatizing him as weak and ungrateful. But on the contrary, though not aggressive, he was highly courageous, faithful in friendship, free from jealousy of his associates, irreproachable in integrity, able to take a lofty view of public duty, and firm in maintaining the right. His administration is one of the most creditable in American history.





SAMUEL J. TILDEN.



EVER, perhaps, in the history of the United States had corruption in the public service been more widely spread than in the decade before its centennial. Hence, while the people were looking forward with interest to the celebration of the hundredth national anniversary, many of their wisest leaders and counsellors were alarmed at the symptoms of moral decay. They knew that other republics, once powerful, had fallen by this deadly plague. They looked around for a man of moral courage and sturdy resolution to grapple with the abuses which threatened the nation's life. Many Republicans, as well as Democrats, thought they had discovered such a man in Samuel J. Tilden, and they combined in endeavoring to place him in the Presidential chair. So nearly were they successful that it is still a matter of astonishment that they did not fully accomplish their aim.

Samuel Jones Tilden was born at New Lebanon, New York, February 9, 1814. He was descended from Nathaniel Tilden, who emigrated from Tenterden, England, to Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1634. The family afterwards removed to Lebanon, Connecticut, and thence to New Lebanon. There Elam Tilden, born in 1781, was a farmer, and kept a country store. He was also an active Democrat, and an intimate friend of Martin Van Buren. Samuel, his son, early showed great vigor of mind, though his college studies were interrupted by poor health. He was educated at the University of New York, studied law, and was admitted to practice in New York city. He had already been active in politics, defending the measures of Van Buren's administration. In

1845 Tilden was elected to the New York Legislature. As chairman of the committee appointed to investigate the anti-rent disorders, he wrote an elaborate report on the patroon system of land-holding. As a lawyer he became so distinguished in corporation cases that from 1855 more than half of the great railway corporations of New York and the West employed him as counsel. For many of these in their financial struggles he prepared plans of reorganization.

Following his friend Van Buren, Tilden took part in the Free-Soil revolt in 1848. During the Civil War he resisted the extra-constitutional measures of defence used by President Lincoln's administration. He became the leader of the Democratic party in New York State. But he was a determined opponent of the corrupt Tweed ring which for years dominated the government of New York city. This ring, organized by William M. Tweed, controlled not only the executive offices, but some of the city judges, and by their aid plundered the Erie Railway. In order to overcome this abuse of the machinery of justice, the New York Bar Association was formed. Tilden was zealous in prosecuting the impeachment of Judges Barnard and Cardozo. To assist in this movement he was elected to the Assembly. The plundering methods of the Tweed ring were exposed in the *New York Times* of July 20, 1871, the information having been furnished by Sheriff O'Brien. Tilden had the bank accounts of its members examined, and his affidavit furnished the basis of their prosecution. They were driven not only from office, but from their hold on the State Democratic organization. In 1874 Tilden was made Democratic candidate for Governor and was elected by a plurality of 50,000 over Governor John A. Dix. His efforts for reform were now directed against dishonesty in the management of the Erie Canal, and he succeeded in driving the Canal Ring from control.

The whole country had become excited by the revelation of fraud and corruption among public officials, national as well as State. On this ground the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis in June, 1876, nominated Tilden for the Presidency. Tilden was regarded as having proved his fitness for the task of meeting the struggle with entrenched

corruption. In the subsequent election the popular vote, as counted, gave Tilden 4,284,265, and Hayes 4,033,295. It was beyond dispute that Tilden had carried the States of New York, New Jersey, Indiana and Connecticut. But doubt was thrown on the vote of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, on account of the intimidation of negro voters. The canvassing boards of those States rejected the votes of several districts and thus gave the majority to the Hayes electors. When the returns came before Congress that body having a Republican Senate and Democratic House, was unable to decide the question. The Democratic leaders then proposed an Electoral Commission of fifteen—five from the Senate, five from the House, five from the Supreme Court. This commission decided the questions referred to it by a strict party vote—eight Republican to seven Democratic votes. The result was accepted by the House of Representatives on March 2, 1877, through the influence of Speaker Samuel J. Randall. Tilden is said to have objected to the Electoral Commission, believing that the two Houses had the exclusive right to count the electoral votes. Yet when the decision was made, he advised his friends to submit quietly. Hayes was accordingly inaugurated, but his administration, though wise and pure, suffered in popular esteem from the doubtfulness of its title. To prevent the recurrence of such disputes, a bill regulating the electoral count was passed in 1887; its aim is to put upon each State the responsibility of determining its own vote.

In 1878 there was an attempt made by the House of Representatives to investigate the action of the canvassing boards in the Southern States. The chairman of the committee was Clarkson N. Potter, of New York. It was found that persons had been engaged in attempts to purchase the canvassers. Numerous cipher despatches were recovered from the Western Union Telegraph Company. These were translated and afterwards published. The negotiations were traced to Tilden's residence, Gramercy Park, but Tilden denied, under oath, all knowledge of them. They were believed to have been conducted by Tilden's nephew and secretary, Colonel Pelton. While these revelations convinced the public that there had been attempts at bribery of the canvassing boards, the general

confidence in Tilden's integrity was never disturbed. In 1880 so strong was the desire for his renomination, although his health was feeble, that he was obliged to make a formal announcement of his determination not to be a candidate again. Towards the close of his life he wrote to J. G. Carlisle, Speaker of the House of Representatives, urging the necessity of liberal appropriations for coast defence of the United States. Tilden died at his country residence, Greystone, in Westchester county, New York, on August 4, 1886.

Tilden was a small smooth-faced man, with sharp eyes and a low voice. He was noted for his persistence, shrewdness and personal integrity. He was never married. His fortune was estimated at \$8,500,000, and by his elaborate will the greater portion of it was devoted to public uses, especially to the establishment and endowment of a free public library in New York city. The will was contested by relatives, but after considerable litigation, a compromise was effected, by which about \$3,500,000 was devoted to this purpose. The funds of the Astor and Lenox libraries are combined with the Tilden bequest, and the New York Free Library is to be erected on the site heretofore occupied by a reservoir. Tilden's writings have been edited by John Bigelow, who has also published his biography.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

(Died at Greystone, August 4, 1886.)

Once more, O all-adjusting Death !
The nation's Pantheon opens wide ;
Once more a common sorrow saith,
A strong, wise man has died.

Faults doubtless had he. Had we not
Our own, to question and asperse
The worth we doubted or forgot
Until beside his hearse ?

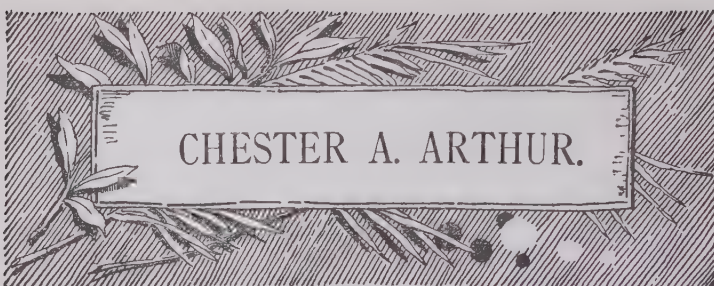
Ambitious, cautious, yet the man
To strike down fraud with resolute hand ;
A patriot, if a partisan,
He loved his native land.

So let the mourning bells be rung,
The banner droop its folds half way,
And while the public pen and tongue
Their fitting tribute pay,

Shall we not vow above his bier
To set our feet on party lies,
And wound no more a living ear
With words that Death denies?

—J. G. WHITTIER.





SINCE the adoption of the Federal Constitution four Presidents of the United States have died during their terms of office and have been succeeded by the Vice-Presidents, who had been elected on the same ticket. There has always been some change of policy and of cabinet officers which has made the situation embarrassing and the results unsatisfactory. No one made a more deliberate effort to adapt himself to the circumstances than Arthur, and he finished his term with the high respect of all parties. He could not obtain a renomination, but historians pronounce his administration creditable to himself and his country.

Chester Alan Arthur was born at Fairfield, Franklin county, Vermont, on the 5th of October, 1830. His father, William Arthur (1796-1875), a native of Ireland and graduate of Belfast College, had come to this country in early manhood, studied law and became a Baptist minister. He married Malvina Stone, who was descended from a New Hampshire pioneer. Their eldest son, Chester, was born in a log cabin. During his childhood they removed to New York State, where Mr. Arthur held various pastorates. Chester graduated from Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1848. During his college course and afterwards he engaged in teaching schools and private pupils. He also studied law, and in 1853 he went to New York city, and was there admitted to the bar. He became a member of the law firm of Culver, Parker and Arthur. Mr. Culver had been an anti-slavery member of Congress, and Rev. Mr. Arthur had endured hardship in the same cause. Eight slaves had been brought by Jonathan Lemmon, of Norfolk, Virginia, to New York in 1852 to be shipped to

Texas. Culver obtained for them a writ of habeas corpus, and they were released on the ground that they had been made free when brought by their master into a free State. This decision caused alarm in the South, and the legislature of Virginia directed its attorney-general to appeal to the higher courts of New York. Arthur was actively engaged on behalf of the slaves, went to Albany to secure the intervention of the legislature and governor, who directed the attorney-general and other lawyers to defend the slaves. The Supreme Court affirmed the original decision in 1857, and the Court of Appeals sustained it in 1860. The right of colored persons to ride in any of the city street cars was also secured by this firm in 1855.

Arthur had been originally a Whig in politics, but when the Republican party was formed he attended its first State convention at Saratoga in 1856. He was also active in militia matters and was made judge-advocate of the New York second brigade. When Edwin D. Morgan entered on his second term as governor of New York in January, 1861, he appointed Arthur engineer-in-chief. In April war began. Arthur was made acting quartermaster-general and had charge of preparing the State's quota of troops called for by President Lincoln. In 1862 he was appointed inspector-general, and visited the New York troops in the field. In June, 1862, he was secretary of the meeting of governors of the loyal States held in New York city, which advised the President to call for more troops. In July he was made quartermaster-general, and discharged the arduous duties of the position in a highly creditable manner. Arthur retired from this office when Horatio Seymour became governor in January, 1863. He then resumed his law practice, with which he combined activity in party politics.

In November, 1871, he was appointed by President Grant collector of the port of New York, and held this position nearly seven years. Criticisms were made on the management of this office and its patronage, but Arthur showed that there had been fewer removals during his incumbency than under his predecessors, and that a merit system had been established. President Hayes and Secretary Sherman, however, insisted on

Arthur's removal on account of his political activity, and the Senate confirmed E. A. Merritt as his successor on February 3, 1879. At the Republican National Convention at Chicago in June, 1880, Arthur was a delegate-at-large from New York. Following the leadership of Senator Roscoe Conkling, he advocated the nomination of General Grant for a third Presidential term. But after a strenuous effort Grant's partisans were unable to secure a majority of votes. His opponents, who had supported Blaine, John Sherman and others, at last combined to nominate General Garfield, who was also a delegate. Then it was felt necessary to secure the coöperation of the "Stalwarts," who had supported Grant, by allowing them to name the candidate for Vice-President. The New York delegation named General Arthur, and he was accepted. During the canvass he remained chairman of the New York Republican State Committee. In the November election Garfield and Arthur obtained a plurality of the popular vote, and in the electoral college they had a majority of 59.

Vice-President Arthur entered on the duties of his office on March 4, 1881. He presided in the extra session of the Senate which lasted till May 20th. The Senate was evenly divided between the Republicans and Democrats, and the Vice-President frequently gave the casting vote. The discord between the Stalwarts and the administration Republicans continued and was aggravated. On March 23rd President Garfield nominated William H. Robertson to be collector of the port of New York. Robertson had prevented Senator Conkling from casting the vote of the New York delegation as a unit at Chicago. His nomination was declared to be a breach of an agreement between the President and the New York Senators, Conkling and Platt. Vice-President Arthur joined the latter in requesting that the nomination be recalled. The President not only refused to do so, but withdrew all nominations made at the request of the New York senators. When Robertson's appointment was confirmed Conkling and Platt resigned and hastened to Albany to demand another election as a vindication of their course. At the close of the session Vice-President Arthur went thither also, and exerted himself in their behalf, but in vain. So

intense had been the excitement of this struggle that a disappointed office-seeker shot President Garfield on July 2nd. Though mortally wounded, he lingered eighty days. During this time Vice-President Arthur conducted himself with marked propriety, and showed sincere grief for the national calamity. When the cabinet announced President Garfield's death, Arthur, then at his residence in New York city, at their suggestion took the oath of office on September 20th. He was inaugurated in the Vice-President's room in the Capitol at Washington two days later. At his first cabinet meeting he designated September 26th as a day of mourning for the late President. He himself wore mourning for six months.

President Arthur showed full appreciation of the grave responsibilities of his new office. He convened the Senate for executive business in October. The secretaries of the executive department selected by his predecessor offered their resignations, but were requested to keep their places till after the meeting of Congress in December. Even then President Arthur retained Robert T. Lincoln, the son of President Lincoln, as Secretary of War. In October the centennial anniversary of the battle of Yorktown was celebrated at that place, French, German and even British representatives having been sent by their governments, and the President gracefully ordered that the ceremonies be concluded with a general salute to the British flag, as a mark of American respect for the Queen. A Pan-American Congress had been invited by Secretary Blaine to meet at Washington in November, 1882; President Arthur referred the proposal again to Congress, and receiving no response, postponed the convocation indefinitely. Although General Arthur had been regarded as an intense partisan, yet as President he gave the cause of civil service reform cordial assistance. He nominated Roscoe Conkling as a Justice of the Supreme Court, but the ex-Senator declined the place, as he had done before to President Grant. In spite of the President's sincere efforts to restore harmony in the Republican party, the Stalwärts and Half-breeds maintained their quarrels. From these the President kept aloof, though he thereby lost the favour of some former friends. The most

important act of his administration was a revision of the tariff by which duties on imports were largely reduced. In 1882 his courage was shown in vetoing an unduly swollen River and Harbor bill, but it was passed over his veto by Congress. He also vetoed a bill prohibiting the admission of Chinese for twenty years, but he afterwards signed a modified bill of the same kind. Throughout his administration Arthur's dignified impartial attitude tended to restore the public confidence which had been greatly shaken by the factional contests and tragical catastrophe which had preceded it. His last official act was to sign the act of Congress placing General Grant, then fast approaching his end, on the retired list of the United States army.

General Arthur had married a daughter of Captain William L. Herndon, who, while a lieutenant in the United States Navy, had explored the valley of the Amazon. Captain Herndon perished at sea while commanding the steamer "Central America," which went down in the Gulf of Mexico, with 426 persons on board. Congress voted to his widow a gold medal in recognition of his bravery at that time. At the time of his election to the Vice-Presidency General Arthur was a widower, his wife having died in 1880. During his administration his sister, Mrs. McElroy, admirably discharged the duties of mistress of the White House.

At the Republican National Convention at Chicago in June, 1884, President Arthur's administration was approved as wise and conservative. A large number of delegates were in favor of renominating him, but on the fourth ballot the majority decided in favor of James G. Blaine. The President gave him loyal support, but Blaine was defeated by Grover Cleveland. Arthur retired from the Presidency grieved that his official conduct had been misunderstood by the people. His robust constitution had been impaired, and though he took part in some public ceremonies, he gradually sank until he died on November 18, 1886.

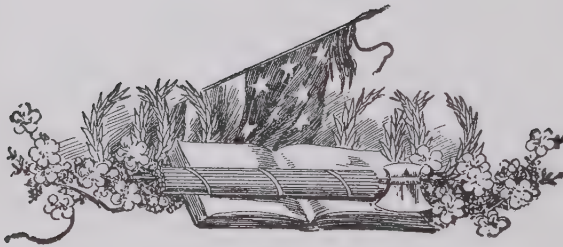
Chester A. Arthur was tall, handsome and of distinguished presence. In manner he was courteous, affable and refined. As President he was emphatically "the first gentleman in the land." He was well educated, and his messages were in excel-

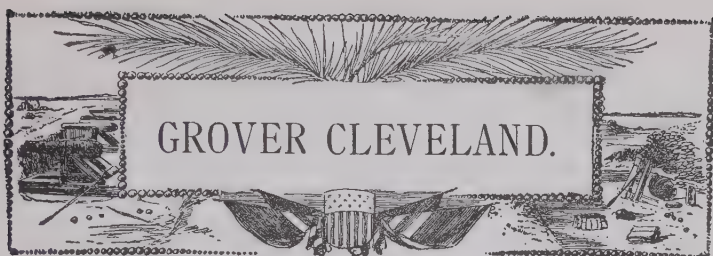
lent style. His course of action has been criticised as negative, but it was best adapted for the welfare of the country. As he would not abuse his position to avenge the political grievances of his early associates, he lost their support, and his real merit was not readily understood, owing to the strong prejudices which had been aroused against him. His moral firmness and honorable self-reliance were worthy of the best days of the Republic.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

For the fourth time in the history of the republic its chief magistrate has been removed by death. All hearts are filled with grief and horror at the hideous crime which has darkened our land; and the memory of the murdered President, his protracted sufferings, his unyielding fortitude, the example and achievements of his life, and the pathos of his death, will forever illumine the pages of our history. For the fourth time the officer elected by the people and ordained by the Constitution to fill a vacancy so created is called to assume the executive chair. The wisdom of our fathers, foreseeing even the most dire possibilities, made sure that the government should never be imperiled because of the uncertainty of human life. Men may die, but the fabrics of our free institutions remain unshaken. No higher or more assuring proof could exist of the strength and permanence of popular government than the fact that, though the chosen of the people be struck down, his constitutional successor is peacefully installed without shock or strain, except the sorrow which mourns the bereavement. All the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic security and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit and to see that the nation shall profit by his example and experience. Prosperity blesses our country, our fiscal policy, as fixed by law, is well grounded and generally approved. No threatening issue mars our foreign intercourse, and the wisdom, integrity, and the thrift of our people may be trusted to continue undisturbed the present assured career of peace, tranquillity, and welfare. The gloom and anxiety which have enshrouded the

country must make repose especially welcome now. No demand for speedy legislation has been heard; no adequate occasion is apparent for an unusual session of Congress. The Constitution defines the functions and powers of the executive as clearly as those of either of the other two departments of the government, and he must answer for the just exercise of the discretion it permits and the performance of the duties it imposes. Summoned to these high duties and responsibilities, and profoundly conscious of their magnitude and gravity, I assume the trust imposed by the Constitution, relying for aid on Divine guidance and the virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people.





THREE times nominated for the Presidency of the United States, and twice elected to that exalted station, Grover Cleveland holds a prominent place in American history. His representation of modern Democracy looks to administrative reform rather than party machinery for political success. Among American statesmen he stands conspicuous for self-reliance and intense watchfulness of public interests.

Grover Cleveland was born on March 18, 1837, at Caldwell, New Jersey, where his father, Richard Falley Cleveland, was a Presbyterian minister. He was named for Rev. Stephen Grover, the first minister of the local church, but in early life dropped the first name. His ancestry is traced to Moses Cleveland, who emigrated from Ipswich, England, to Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1635. Grover belongs to the seventh generation in descent from this immigrant. When he was four years old his father removed to Fayetteville, New York, where the boy was employed in the village store. Afterwards the family went to Clinton, and Grover attended an academy there. In 1853 the father died at Holland Patent. At the age of seventeen Grover became clerk and assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind. In 1855 he started for the West, but stopped at Buffalo, where his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, gave him employment in compiling the "American Herd-Book." He became clerk and copyist in a law office, and in 1859 was admitted to the bar.

In 1863 Cleveland was appointed assistant district attorney

of Erie county, and held the office three years. As two of his brothers were already in the army, the support of his mother and sisters depended chiefly on Grover. When he was drafted, therefore, he borrowed money to procure a substitute in the Union army. His law practice increased, and in 1870 he was elected sheriff of Erie county. At the end of three years he formed a law-partnership which proved prosperous. In 1881 the city of Buffalo, which was suffering from the misgovernment of a "ring," demanded a "reform" mayor, and by a union of Democrats and Republicans Cleveland was elected by the largest majority ever given there. When entering on his duties in January, 1882, he declared that "the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns." Pursuing this policy, he enforced strict compliance with the State Constitution and the city charter, and became known as the "veto mayor." By his frequent use of the negative he saved the city much money.

In 1882 there was a bitter factional fight in the Republican party in New York between the Stalwarts and the Half-breeds. Hon. Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury in President Arthur's Cabinet, was nominated for governor. Though he was personally unobjectionable, his Half-breed opponents declared that the nomination had been obtained by fraud. They therefore abstained from voting. Cleveland, nominated by the Democrats as a "reform" candidate, was elected by the phenomenal majority of 192,000. As governor his manner and habits were the same as he had shown as mayor. To every public question coming before him he gave personal attention. He lived within his salary and practiced Jeffersonian simplicity. His vetoes were again conspicuous. The one most criticised was the veto of the "Five-cent fare" bill, by which the rates of fare on the elevated roads of New York city were to be reduced from ten to five cents for all hours of the day. This he pronounced illegal, because the general railroad law of 1850 provided for an examination by State officers of the earnings of roads before the rates could be altered, and this examination had not been made.

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago,

July 8, 1884. Cleveland's immense majority in New York had made him a conspicuous candidate for the Presidency. But Tammany vehemently opposed him, whereupon General Bragg, of Wisconsin, declared that the young men of his State "love Cleveland and respect him not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies he has made." On the first ballot he obtained 392 out of 820 votes. On the second, a day later, he received 683 votes, and thus secured the nomination. His letter of acceptance was an admirable statement of the principles that should govern party action and government administration. In the canvass that followed there were scandalous attacks on the moral character of both the candidates—Blaine and Cleveland. The Independents, now called Mugwumps, gave cordial support to the latter. The contest was close and turned upon the vote of New York. Toward the end of the campaign Tammany had been induced to support Cleveland. His majority in New York State was 1100, but it is now known that fraud exceeding this was perpetrated in one district. But New York had after the Presidential dispute of 1877 adopted a law which prohibited going behind the returns. Hence the announced result was accepted quietly. The total popular vote was: Cleveland, 4,874,986; Blaine, 4,851,981. The electoral vote was: Cleveland, 219; Blaine, 182.

Cleveland resigned his governorship in January, 1885, but remained at Albany until March 2d. He was inaugurated at Washington on March 4th. More than 100,000 visitors had assembled to greet the return of Democracy to power after an exile of twenty-four years. In his inaugural address President Cleveland pronounced strongly for civil service reform, declaring that the people demand the application of business principles to public affairs. In his cabinet Thomas F. Bayard was Secretary of State, Daniel Manning Secretary of the Treasury, William C. Whitney Secretary of the Navy. From the South were taken A. H. Garland, of Arkansas, as Attorney-general, and L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, as Secretary of the Interior. The President announced that except in the heads of the departments, foreign ministers and other officers

charged with executing the policy of the administration, no official changes would be made except for cause. The leaders of the Democratic party urged sweeping changes in order to strengthen their political organization. The President recognized "offensive partisanship" as a sufficient reason for removal, and this was eventually interpreted very freely. When new appointments were made on account of removals the Senate called for the papers on file in the departments relating to the cases. These the President refused to furnish, holding that the right of removal belonged entirely to the executive, and that the papers called for were not official. After considerable controversy the Senate acquiesced in the President's view. President Cleveland publicly rebuked senators and representatives for giving incorrect information with regard to applicants for office. Within three years of Cleveland's administration nearly 80 per cent. of the postmasters were removed or suspended, and altogether 80,000 Republican office-holders had been replaced by Democrats. Congress showed hostility to the Civil Service Reform, and in June, 1886, refused to make appropriation for the commissioners. Cleveland yielded to the steady pressure.

President Cleveland, according to his wont, exercised the veto power freely. In one session of Congress about 12 per cent. of the bills which passed both houses were vetoed. But this power was chiefly used in regard to private pension bills, which, contrary to the practice of former Presidents, he deemed it his duty to scrutinize as closely as general laws. He also refused to approve the erection of Federal buildings in cities and towns unless they were absolutely needed for the convenient transaction of public business. His strong physique enabled him to stand the strain of excessive labor.

When President Cleveland entered the White House he was still unmarried. His youngest sister, Rose Elizabeth, who had been a teacher, accompanied him to Washington and became the hostess of the Executive Mansion. But on June 2, 1886, President Cleveland married in the White House Frances Folsom, daughter of his deceased law partner, Oscar Folsom. She was born in 1864 and was the youngest but one of the ladies who have occupied the White House. Her

beauty, grace and tact endeared her at once to the American people.

Among the reforms instituted by Cleveland was the forfeiture of extensive land grants shown to be fraudulent, the removal of herds of cattle and fences from Indian reservations, the driving of "boomers" from the public lands. The development of the Navy, suggested by Secretary Robeson, and forcibly urged by Secretary Chandler, was carried on by Secretary Whitney. Important steps were taken in Cleveland's first term, and the progress afterward was continuous, rapid and splendid. It culminated in battle-ships which excited the admiration of Europe and rendered their grand service ten years later in the war with Spain. Before Cleveland's time the pensioning of Union soldiers was somewhat indiscriminate, neither party venturing to advocate an economy of expenditure. In fact the growing Treasury surplus, which accumulated because the outstanding bonds could not be paid until 1891, offered strong temptation to reckless liberality. Cleveland patiently probed the bills submitted, exposed the fraudulent, and signed the legitimate. In 1886 he vetoed 101 out of the 747 which had passed Congress. Only one was ever passed over the veto in all his term. In 1887 the Dependent Pension Bill which gave pensions to all dependent veterans, who had served three months, and to the dependent parents of such soldiers was boldly vetoed; so also was the Blair Educational Bill, which provided support for State schools in the South.

The surplus in the Treasury called attention to the tariff problem. Cleveland at first had no definite views on the subject, but he became convinced that as the revenues were in excess of the actual needs of the Government, the tariff laws ought to be remodeled. In the Forty-ninth Congress the Democratic majority divided in regard to the Morrison and the Randall bills, the latter retaining the principle of protection. In a bold message in 1887 devoted exclusively to this subject Cleveland urged practical free trade. In the Fiftieth Congress this was embodied in the Mills bill, which passed the Democratic House under pressure, but was halted in the Senate, where a substitute was prepared by the Republican

majority, but not passed. The question was deferred for decision by the people in the next Presidential election.

In 1885 that part of the Treaty of Washington of 1870, which related to the fisheries expired by limitation. Trouble soon arose with Canada, and in 1887 suspension of all commercial relations with that country was threatened. To avert this a joint commission was appointed which drafted a compromise treaty. Though approved by the President, it was rejected by the Senate in 1888. However, a *modus vivendi* had been arranged which continued in operation.

In 1888 President Cleveland was renominated by the Democratic Convention at St. Louis, with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio as candidate for Vice-President. The Republican Convention nominated Benjamin Harrison for President and Levi P. Morton for Vice President. Blaine was in Europe, and dissuaded his friends from nominating him. The campaign was entirely free from the disgraceful personalities of the previous contest. One incident was the dismissal of the British minister, who had been tricked into an undiplomatic approval of Cleveland's candidacy. The striking feature of the campaign was the organization of clubs by both parties. The discussion was chiefly on the tariff, and the policy of protection was strongly urged by Republican leaders. The result was the election of Harrison, whose popular vote was 5,444,053, while that of Cleveland was 5,538,536, being larger than in 1884. But Harrison won the States of New York and Indiana, and had 233 electoral votes, while Cleveland had 168. The Republicans were also victorious in the Congressional elections, and thus had control of all the branches of the government.

Cleveland on retiring from the Presidency on March 4, 1889, took up his residence in New York city, and resumed the practice of law. In the meantime Congress after tedious delay had formulated the McKinley tariff law, to which under the influence of Secretary Blaine, a system of reciprocity had been attached. In 1892 the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis renominated President Harrison, and the Democratic Convention at Chicago again made Cleveland its standard-bearer, with Adlai F. Stevenson of Illinois as candi

date for Vice-President. The Democratic platform contained a resolution demanding tariff for revenue only, but Cleveland's letter of acceptance sought to modify its bluntness. The campaign was apathetic on the Republican side, as the party leaders were lukewarm towards the President. The Democrats vigorously denounced the McKinley Act, and found support in the working classes, whose expectations of good times had not been quickly realized. The Populists showed great strength in the South and West, but often combined with the Democrats in fusion tickets. In November, 1892, Cleveland received 5,556,562 votes, Harrison 5,162,874, and General J. B. Weaver, the Populist, 1,055,424. The electoral vote stood :—Cleveland, 277 ; Harrison, 145 ; and Weaver, 22. Both Senate and House were largely Democratic.

President Cleveland was inaugurated for the second time on March 4, 1893, with great demonstrations of popular approval. He and his party entered upon their task with high hopes and full determination to execute the mandate of the people. Before this could be accomplished, the whole world was invited to participate in the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, which opened May 1, 1893. With appropriate words of congratulation the President started the machinery of that magnificent display of the world's progress in industrial and artistic achievement.

In spite of this and other signs of prosperity a terrible monetary panic occurred in the summer of 1893. Silver had for many years been mined in quantities exceeding the world's immediate needs, and had steadily fallen in price. The nations of Europe had demonetized silver, and in 1873 the United States followed their example. Twenty years later the government of British India suspended the free coinage of silver. The effect was immediately felt in America, whose mines were the chief sources of the world's supply. The mines were closed. Trade was convulsed. Gold was hoarded. Banks refused credits and suspended specie payments. They used clearing-house certificates instead of legal tenders. President Cleveland called Congress in special session in August, and advised the repeal of the Sherman law which required the government to purchase silver to the amount of \$2,000,000

monthly. But both parties in Congress were divided on the money question, and it was not until November that the silver-purchase law was repealed by the aid of the "sound money" Republicans. Even that did not stop the outflow of gold. The treasury reserve of \$100,000,000, which had been maintained to secure specie payment of the greenbacks was reduced in February, 1894, to \$65,000,000. Bonds to the amount of \$50,000,000 were issued to supply the deficit, but in June the reserve was again at the same figures. The Secretary of the Treasury, J. G. Carlisle, paid in gold every note that was presented, and the government was at the mercy of the bankers and dealers in exchange. In February, 1895, the reserve was reduced to \$41,300,000, and the country seemed likely to be forced to a silver basis.

In the meantime Congress was struggling to formulate a new tariff. In December, 1893, by a vote of 204 to 41, the House passed the Wilson bill, which was in accordance with President Cleveland's views. It was practically a tariff for revenue only, and placed sugar, coal, wood, lumber, and iron ore on the free list. But it encountered great opposition in the Senate, in which a number of Democrats under the lead of A. P. Gorman, of Maryland, procured amendments, giving up the principle of free raw materials. In vain did the angry President charge them with "party perfidy and party dishonor." The Senate remained firm, and the House, in order to get something done, hurriedly accepted the amended bill. President Cleveland was in a dilemma, for a veto would leave the McKinley bill in force. He let it alone, and the inconsistent Wilson-Gorman tariff, which pleased nobody, became a law without his signature. The act contained provision for an income tax, which was, however, pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. As the bill did not provide sufficient revenue it became necessary to issue more bonds. These bonds were placed with a syndicate of bankers, partly foreign, which engaged to prevent for some time large exportations of gold.

In the closing month of his administration President Harrison had made a treaty with the Provisional Government of Hawaii for the annexation of those islands. This govern-

ment, composed of Americans, had set aside the native Queen Liliuokalani, who had been trying to increase her power. President Cleveland, believing the revolution due to the improper influence of the American minister, withdrew the treaty from the Senate, and endeavored in peaceful ways to restore the queen. But the Provisional Government was too firmly established, and the queen too stubborn and desirous of revenge. An insurrection in her behalf proved abortive. A. S. Willis, sent as minister by President Cleveland, finally gave his approval of the new government.

So great was the distress and restlessness among the working classes in 1894 that in several States they formed an organization called the Industrial Commonweal. Bands of these Commonwealers undertook to march to Washington and call upon the government for relief. General Coxey led the advance from Ohio in March, and General Kelly followed from beyond the Mississippi. On May 1st the band was driven from the Capitol grounds and the leaders arrested and imprisoned for a month. The followers gradually dispersed. About the same time occurred the great railroad strike, commencing among the employees of the Pullman Car Company. The American Railway Union, composed of 100,000 persons connected with railroads, finding the Pullman management unwilling to arbitrate some differences, ordered its members to cease handling Pullman cars on June 26th. This was done without violence, but on July 2d an injunction was issued by a United States Court against the American Railway Union. Attacks then began to be made on the cars. Deputy marshals being unable to prevent the violence, State and Federal soldiers were sent to the scene. A bloody conflict took place at Hammond, Indiana, on July 8th. The general strike was ordered two days later. The order was not obeyed in the East, but at Chicago and through the Western States it was carried out. The loss to the railroads was over \$5,000,000, and business generally suffered still more. The cost of the troops employed was over \$1,000,000. Governor Altgeld protested against the sending of Federal troops to Chicago, but President Cleveland defended the act on the ground that the post office had reported the obstruction of the mails, and the Federal courts

had declared that their process could not be executed through the ordinary means. President Cleveland in July appointed a commission to investigate the Pullman strike. They reported the history of the movement, and threw much blame on the Railway Managers' Association for evasion and violation of laws. They recommended a permanent United States Railroad Strike Commission to investigate railway labor difficulties.

The fall elections in 1894 were a landslide for the Republicans. In the House of Representatives Thomas B. Reed was again chosen Speaker. There was no strongly partisan legislation possible; but the Speaker assisted the movement to secure "sound money."

On the death of Secretary Gresham in May, 1895, Richard Olney, who had been Attorney General, became Secretary of State. A dispute having arisen between Great Britain and Venezuela with regard to the boundary of Guiana, Olney insisted that the question came within the scope of the Monroe doctrine, and should be submitted to arbitration. Cleveland therefore sent to Congress in December, 1895, a message recommending the appointment of a commission to determine the boundary, and declared that when their report should be accepted the United States should insist on the British withdrawal from the territory assigned to Venezuela. Both parties in Congress hastened to pass the act providing for such a commission. But Wall street considered the message almost a declaration of war against England. American securities fell in value. A new message begged for legislation to preserve the national credit.

Towards the close of his term President Cleveland largely extended the scope of the Civil Service reform. The Republicans in criticism of this act said that the departments had been well filled with Democrats. During the term the bonded indebtedness of the government had been increased \$262,000,000. In June, 1896, William McKinley was nominated by the Republicans for the Presidency, and in November he was elected. On March 4, 1897, Grover Cleveland retired from the Presidency, and soon afterwards took up his residence at Princeton, New Jersey. His business as a lawyer requires frequent visits to New York city.

Grover Cleveland is above medium height and quite stout. He has a broad forehead, ruddy face, deeply-set blue eyes, a large, straight nose, firm mouth and strong jaw. His hair is dark, and he wears a moustache. He is rather slow in movement, methodical in his habits, and careful in his dress, but dislikes ceremonial formality. His tireless industry has been one of the chief factors of his success in life. After working hard all day, and attending to all callers, he often continued his official labors late at night. His opinions are formed with deliberation, but are expressed with vigor. His fondness for words of learned length and thundering sound is notable. During his Presidential terms his occasional vacations were spent in fishing or duck-shooting excursions with a few congenial friends. After his marriage his summers were spent at a quiet place on Buzzard's Bay, Massachusetts, but he kept in constant touch with affairs at Washington.

TARIFF MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

(Sent to Congress December 6, 1887.)

To the Congress of the United States :

You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration. The amount of money annually exacted through the operation of present laws from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share toward the careful and economical maintenance of the government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong, inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit, conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive

enterprise, threatening financial disturbance and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our Treasury is not altogether new ; and it has more than once, of late, been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster. It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures, after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking-fund act, was \$17,859,735.84. During the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20, and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54. The annual contributions to the sinking fund during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,058,320.94 and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per-cent. bonds of the government. During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulation, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people would so affect the business of the country, that the sum of \$79,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three-per-cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the government.

The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three-per-cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting, with principal and interest, to the sum of \$18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking-fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department, representations of distress in business circles not only continued, but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of government bonds not yet due, bearing four and four and one-half per cent. interest, the premium paid thereon averaging about twenty four per cent. for the former and eight per cent. for the latter.

In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the government was to some extent anticipated, the banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expenditure thus employed to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the 1st day of December to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to \$140,000,000.

There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause. And while the functions of our national Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purpose, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted Executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three-per-cent. bonds, which were payable at the option of the government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding, the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction. . . .

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since

your last adjournment, which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within Executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested national Treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business interests of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these important articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported goods, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who

buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits, instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage. . . .

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workmen employed in manufactories than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to the full share of all our advantages.

By the last census it was made to appear that of the 17,392,-

099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of the wages, will regulate the measure of their well-fare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workman or the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employees either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged in a purchase for family use of an article which em-

braces his own labor, to return, in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears, and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They of course are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is, by this scheme, obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woollen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow-farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and, at the same time, to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if, in the emergency that presses upon us, our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they can not fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened

self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair division of our tariff laws is not under-estimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no feature of hardship; but the necessities of life, used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed on raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve, besides, to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change could have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption, saving them from the depression, interruption to business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market and affording their employees more certain and steady labor with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both great political parties now represented in the government have by repeated and authoritative declarations condemned the condition of our laws which permits the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have in the most solemn manner promised its correction, and neither as citizens nor partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

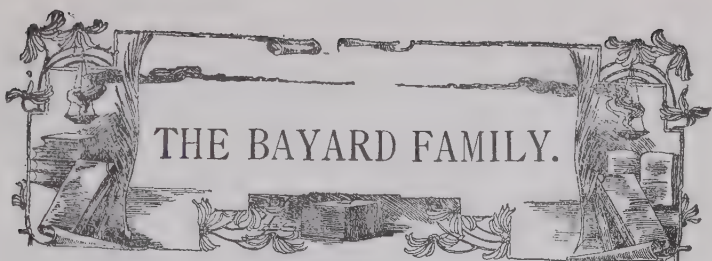
Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets.

It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim, made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called "Free Traders" is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good. The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen have, and with benefit to them and **all** our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Constitution provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." It has been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail, with some particularity, the operation of the different Executive Departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time and call attention to the valua-

ble accomplishments of these departments during the fiscal year. But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "the state of the Union," as shown in the present condition of our Treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.—GROVER CLEVELAND.





VERY few families have succeeded in attaining prominence in American history through successive generations. The most conspicuous example is the Adams family, which has furnished two Presidents and other statesmen. Perhaps the next most prominent family is that of the Bayards, though their connection with one of the smallest States has been somewhat of a drawback.

The Bayard family in America is traced to Samuel Bayard, of French Huguenot descent, but settled in Amsterdam as a merchant. His widow, with her three sons and a daughter, accompanied Governor Peter Stuyvesant (whose wife was a Bayard), when he sailed for New Amsterdam (now New York), in 1647. One of her descendants joined the sect of the Labadists, and in 1698 removed to Maryland. To this branch belonged James Asheton Bayard, who was born at Philadelphia, July 28, 1767. His father was a physician and died in 1770. Thereupon James and three other children were adopted by their uncle, Colonel John Bayard, a leading merchant of Philadelphia, who was active in the patriot cause throughout the Revolution. James graduated at Princeton College in 1784 and studied law at Philadelphia. Being a witness of the formation of the Federal Constitution, he was firmly attached to its principles. He settled at Wilmington, Delaware, and acquired a large law practice. Entering into politics as a Federalist, he was elected to Congress in 1796. His ability was shown in the impeachment of Senator William Blount, of Tennessee, who was expelled from the Senate for instigating the Creek Indians to assist the English in movements against the Spanish in Louisiana.

In 1800 Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr had received

an equal number of electoral votes for the Presidency. It therefore devolved upon the Representatives in Congress, voting by States, to make the choice. The Federalists, through their dislike for Jefferson, were inclined to vote for Burr. Some of the States were equally divided and their votes consequently lost. One of these was Delaware, which had four votes. After the contest had lasted some days, Bayard thought it his duty to absent himself, so that the State's vote stood 2 to 1 for Jefferson, and thus was counted for him and gave him the Presidency, while Burr obtained the Vice-Presidency.

President Adams nominated Bayard minister to France and the Senate confirmed the nomination. Bayard declined the offer and remained in Congress until 1803. He was soon afterwards elected to the Senate, where he still adhered to his Federalist views, and opposed the declaration of war against England in 1812. When Russia offered her mediation in 1813, Bayard was appointed by President Madison one of the peace commissioners and went to St. Petersburg. England, however, refused to treat at that time. In January, 1814, a new commission was appointed, in which Bayard was included. Going to Holland, he was active in the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent on December 14, 1814. He was offered the position of minister to Russia, but declined it. He was about to take part in forming a commercial treaty with England when an alarming illness caused him to return home. Soon after his arrival at Wilmington, he died on August 6, 1815.

James Asheton Bayard, the son of the foregoing, was born at Wilmington, November 15, 1799. He was classically educated, studied law and became eminent in his profession. President Van Buren appointed him United States Attorney for Delaware. In 1851 Bayard was elected to the United States Senate. He was noted as a constitutional lawyer, and was for a long time chairman of the judiciary committee in the Senate. He was a strong advocate of State rights and resisted many measures of President Lincoln's administration. In 1863, when he took his seat after his third election, he was required to take the "iron-clad" oath of loyalty to the Constitution. He objected to the terms of the oath as a violation

of the rights of the several States, yet he took the oath and then resigned his seat. When his successor died, Bayard consented to serve the remainder of his term. He died June 13, 1880.

His son, Thomas Francis Bayard, was born at Wilmington October 29, 1828. He was educated at a school established by Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks, and early entered on a business course in New York city. On account of his elder brother's death in 1848, he returned to Wilmington and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1851, and practiced chiefly in Wilmington, though he resided for two years in Philadelphia. In 1861, at a public meeting in Dover, he spoke strongly against the Civil War and in favor of peace with the South. In 1868 his father was elected to serve the unexpired part of his original term, while the son was elected to succeed him in the Senate. He served on important committees, and was a strenuous upholder of State rights, low tariffs and all distinctively Democratic measures. His opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment was on account of its taking from the individual States the power of regulating the elective franchise. In 1877 Bayard served on the Electoral Commission appointed to decide the Hayes-Tilden count. The number of Democrats in the Senate increased, and when Vice-President Arthur succeeded to the Presidency they had for a few days a majority. At this time Bayard was chosen president of the Senate *pro tem*. But he held the place only four days, October 10-13, 1881. In the Democratic National Convention of 1880 Bayard was a candidate for the Presidential nomination, and in that of 1884 he was still more prominent. Cleveland, however, won the prize and was elected. He called Bayard to be Secretary of State, and though the Delaware statesman would have preferred to remain in the Senate, he accepted. The appointment was highly acceptable to the foreign ministers in Washington. His conduct of foreign affairs was honorable and successful. The treaty concluded with Great Britain in regard to the Fisheries was rejected by the Republican Senate as giving too much advantage to Canada, but the *modus vivendi* arranged by the Commissioners to prevent trouble among the fishermen still holds good.

When Cleveland again became President in 1893, he sent Bayard as the United States Minister to Great Britain. There his dignified courtesy and oratorical ability were highly esteemed. He did much to promote friendly feeling among the English people toward the United States. Yet once, at least, he allowed his partisan bias to carry him into such criticism of his countrymen that the House of Representatives passed a vote of censure on his conduct. He returned to the United States in 1897, followed by the regrets of the English statesmen and cultivated classes. His health had been impaired, and he died September 28, 1898.

Thomas Francis Bayard was tall and erect, dignified and graceful in movement, with an aristocratic air on his close-shaven face. He never forgot that he was the descendant of a line of eminent lawyers and statesmen. He was winning in manner, courteous in debate, sincere in speech, and strictly conscientious in the discharge of duty.

THE PROPER RELATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

(From the Speech delivered at the Farewell Banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London to the Hon. T. F. Bayard, U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, March 2, 1897.)

Four years ago I accepted from the Government of the United States the representation of that country at this Court. I had not sought it; it was not the reward of party; it was not the reward of politics; it was, as I believe, for better or for worse, the choice of a patriotic Executive to bring to this country and to the mind of this people a true sense of the relations of the United States to the Kingdom and Empire of Great Britain. It has been to understand that trust, to endeavor to comprehend its broad and vast meaning that my best energies have been directed since I assumed the trust. It has been my endeavor simply to ascertain what ought to be, in the name of God and humanity, the relations between the people of Great Britain and those of the United States. There was nothing smaller, nothing less personal, than a desire to rise to a sense of the proportions of the duty of a man who undertakes to stand alone in this kingdom and represent a country so cosmopolitan as the United States.

What was the first view? What were the relations of these

two mighty nations of the world? What did they represent? Did they stand in the front rank of human progress based upon liberty (which is but another name for strength), liberty, civil and religious, co-workers, co-partners in the great task of raising the plane of human civilization, or were they to drop that great task, were they to turn their backs upon the great purpose of that lofty trusteeship and fall into petty, mercenary, personal, factional bickerings among themselves in which each should destroy the power of the other until both should sink below the respect of the world, and lose that influence that palpably had been placed in their hands for the world's advancement? Surely there is but one side of this question to any man of conscience, of feeling, of comprehension; it is that he must take; he must foster those relations between two such peoples as shall make them a source of safety and honor to each other, of advancement to the race, and to humanity, of which they are part. I will never accept, I would never have accepted a policy, a belief, a proposition that should dwarf the duty of the English-speaking race to each other and to the world at large.

It has been part of my education to pass over the blue Mediterranean throughout that region of the world that once was the centre of its civilization, its power, and its commerce, and to see upon the shores of that sea, with those great estuaries that lead into it and beyond it, to see not an empire, not the progress of civilization, but the ghosts of empire and civilization. There is the object lesson which never was plainer than it is to-night. It never was plainer than when the peace of Europe is held in jeopardy and peril by the lack of those very qualities and forces and purposes which form the life, the living grandeur and force of your country and mine. I speak in the presence of illustrious statesmanship, in the presence of one who has proven his power, his sense of proportion in human action and affairs [Lord Salisbury]. I know that there is a greater and a less, and that no proposition can be stated for humanity that shall not have its balance of duty, although that balance may weigh down much that he may regret.

This was the question for me, What were to be the relations between your country and mine? Were we to be the straightforward, recognized trustees of the world's advancement and civilization, realizing that which was imposed upon us, intending to fulfill our duty under that due sense of proportion which would compel us to pass for a time the cry of passions, the cry of faction,

the cry of local or mercenary interests, feeling that above and beyond all lay the great question of the two countries marching together with a moral force for the security and progress and civilization of the world? Could there be a doubt as to what should be a man's duty in this? It required no courage; it required simple fidelity—the adhesion to a great principle of action. Hence it was that I was imbued with a feeling, before I came here (and the feeling has increased since I came), that there was a plain duty between all the men “who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke, the faith and morals hold that Milton held,” to stand together and rebuke petty differences, not seeking effusional or emotional alliances, but to stand together for the great purpose for which I believe under God our race has been intended. It is not party politics in either country, it may not be international politics, it is a feeling of conscientious duty, that I believe at the bottom underlies the affairs of this great Empire and the country which is my home, the land of my nativity and of my heart. This was my intent, and I weighed the forces for it and against it, and the longer I considered it the plainer it seemed to me that there were currents running too strong to be resisted that would favor the wish of my heart in this respect. I was satisfied that the substructure of our countries is the same; that there is an ingrained affinity of morality, intellectuality and religion that will carry us necessarily in the same direction; that there is to-day no question—I speak in the presence of those perfectly able to qualify or contradict it—there is not a question between the people of this country and the people of the United States. . . .

Why should not we gather from our history, from the history of your government and my own, the wisdom of example? For the last 85 years, across a boundary stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, through the grand river of the St. Lawrence and across the Lakes, there is an imaginary boundary of 4000 miles between the territory and jurisdiction of Great Britain and that of the United States, and in those 85 years there has never been heard the sound of a hostile gun, there never has been found on those great inland seas the presence of a single armed ship worthy of the name, nor has there existed a single garrisoned fortress. Talk about the necessity of exaggerated military armaments, surely between these two great countries there has been an example that is something better even than arms, however nobly and grandly arms may be illustrated. As an English dramatist has said, “Put away the sword; States may be saved without it.”

And States have been saved without it on the continent of North America for nearly a century; not one drop of blood shed, not one ounce of powder exploded, and we stand with mutual respect for mutual rights along that long frontier in a distant country. I do not say that other nations may learn nothing from it, but I do say that between Great Britain and the United States everything is to be learned from it.

There is an old saying that "Love laughs at locksmiths," and so does friendship. There is no sea deep enough or broad enough, there is no wall so high, be it of masonry or of narrow statutes, that can shut out the minds and the hearts of men who mean to cross the sea and to overtop the wall. Let me illustrate. It was but the other day that a lieutenant in the American navy read lectures to his class of cadets, and those lectures stirred Great Britain, men of all parties, into a community of action to a degree that no other book of our time has done. And yet Captain Mahan spoke not for the victory of America, he spoke for the morale of America; he spoke to the youth of America, and he illustrated to them the morale of the career of one of Britain's great and heroic sailors. Was it nothing that the other day the British Ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward Monson, should make the name and the fame of my great countryman, George Washington, on his birthday the subject of a generous and appreciative eulogy? Was it nothing that a hundred British bluejackets landed on the coast of California, and asked leave to march in a procession in honor of George Washington so long after his death? Was it nothing that the Treaty of Arbitration was proposed by the illustrious statesman who honors us with his presence here to-night—that England and America should join together in lifting questions of controversy above the heat of passion and place them in the realm of reason and of justice? My friend and great countryman, the President of the United States, said of the treaty of arbitration, signed by the American Secretary of State and the British Ambassador, that it might not be a perfect scheme, but that it laid down the groundwork, the lines for future proceedings, that should postpone war between these two great countries, and conduct their antagonisms, whenever they should arise, into the atmosphere and realm of reason, of justice, and of mutual conciliation. It may be that for a time unexpected causes may prevent the acceptance of this arrangement, but you cannot doubt that the arrangement has been made. It was the same with the treaty of William Penn with the Indians—that was the only treaty that

was never signed and never was broken. In 1860 when the Prince of Wales was at the tomb of Mount Vernon, and there planted a tree in honor of Washington, it was said by an American that he carried back to England an unsigned treaty of amity and alliance. And so there are things that do not need confirmation, that do not spring from party arrangements or from personal ambition, but have their roots in the sentiment governing great peoples, and which may be delayed, but which cannot possibly be defeated. "So failure wins; the consequence of loss becomes its recompense." . . .

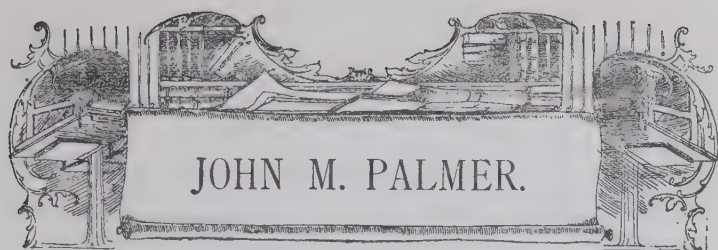
In conclusion I must say one word. It has been hanging over me ever since I entered this scene of festivity. It is the word that has been spoken and must be spoken—Farewell. And when I say farewell to you, let me transpose it, and say I mean welfare to you. I only ask that what I have in my obscure way endeavored to suggest to-night may remain with you and be effectual in strengthening the relations, the kind and amicable relations, between your people and my own. Every act of kindness prolongs friendship, and the longer friendship is prolonged, the less apt it is to be broken. It is the habit, the tradition, that rests upon men and which they obey. I cannot close my words . . . without asking you to accept a line that has long dwelt with me :

"When earth as an evil dream looks back upon her wars,
And the white light of Christ outstreams from the red disc of
Mars,

The fame of him who faced the storm of battle well may cease,
But never that which crowns the man whose victory was peace."

—THOMAS F. BAYARD.





CHICAGO'S great fire of 1871 drew upon the afflicted city the eyes of all nations. The world has since been equally astonished to see the invincible spirit of its people overcome all its disasters and forge ahead as the vigorous leader of American municipal enterprise. At the time of its calamity General Palmer was Governor of Illinois, and showed that characteristic fondness for State legal rights which afterwards won for him a Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

John McCauley Palmer was born at Eagle Creek, Scott County, Kentucky, on the 13th of September, 1817. At the age of fifteen he removed to Illinois, and in 1839 he settled at Carlinville. He was admitted to the bar in 1840, and soon proved himself an able lawyer. He was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1847, and in 1852 was elected to the State Senate. He joined the Republican party at its inception, and was a delegate to its first National Convention in 1856. Four years later, as a Presidential elector, he helped to send Abraham Lincoln to the White House. Yet there was always a strain of conservatism in his mental make-up, and in February, 1861, he attended the abortive Peace Convention at Washington.

When the Civil War came, Palmer was among the first to take arms for the Union. In April, 1861, he was made colonel of the Fourteenth Illinois Volunteers. For a short time General Grant, then colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois, was under his orders. Palmer accompanied General John C. Fremont in his expedition, which was suddenly terminated

at Springfield, Missouri. On December 30th he was commissioned brigadier general of volunteers. He assisted in the capture of New Madrid and Island No. 10. Afterwards he had command of a division at the battle of Stone River, and for his gallantry there was promoted major-general of volunteers. He accompanied Rosecrans' advance to Chattanooga, and participated in the battle of Chickamauga. In the battle of Chattanooga, November 25, 1863, Palmer commanded the Fourteenth Corps. This corps he continued to lead in the Atlanta campaign from May, 1864, participating in several battles. General Sherman blamed Palmer for the failure of attempts to seize a railroad on August 4th and 5th. It is said that he was unwilling to receive orders from General Schofield. Palmer retired from service in the field in September, 1864. He had command of the Military Department of Kentucky in 1865-66.

In 1868 the Republican State Convention of Illinois seemed likely to nominate Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll for Governor. But being requested to discontinue his attacks on the Bible and revealed religion, he refused. Several delegates therefore refused to vote for him. General Palmer was then nominated and elected. The most notable event of his administration was the great fire at Chicago, in October, 1871, which swept over 2124 acres, and destroyed 17,450 buildings, leaving 98,500 persons homeless. Fearing lawlessness on the part of those attracted to the scene, the mayor, Robert B. Mason, on October 10th issued a proclamation, appointed 500 special police for each of the districts of the city, and applied to General P. H. Sheridan for United States troops for temporary service. The command of the whole force, including the police, was entrusted to Sheridan. Governor Palmer sent companies of State militia to co-operate, but on October 19th he asked the mayor to dispense with troops. On Monday, October 23d, the United States troops were relieved. No violence or disorder had occurred; one of the State militia had been accidentally wounded by a comrade, and one soldier killed by a railroad accident. But on October 21st Colonel Thomas W. Grosvenor was killed by Theodore N. Treat, a student of Chicago University, acting

as sentinel, for not answering repeated challenges. Governor Palmer on October 27th wrote to the Attorney General of State, Washington Bucknell, denouncing the use of the military as lawless. He also called upon C. H. Reed, district attorney, to indict not only Treat, but also General Sheridan, Colonel F. T. Sherman, and the officers of Company L, First Regiment Illinois Volunteers. The Grand Jury met in November. Judge Williams told the jury that no one had any right to instruct them whom to indict. The Grand Jury thanked General Sheridan and Mayor Mason for preserving order, and found no indictment for the killing of Colonel Grosvenor. Governor Palmer then complained to the Legislature. The Relief Committee, bank officers and other citizens on October 28th, joined in a request to General Sheridan to station four companies of soldiers at or near the city until all danger of attack or riot should be past. The Secretary of War ordered four companies from the East to Chicago. Governor Palmer wrote to President Grant objecting to bringing troops to take the place of police. The President explained that they were sent to help in view of the great calamity and emergency. He also sent instructions to General Sheridan that no orders to the troops should conflict with the Constitution or laws of Illinois. The Governor reported the whole case to the Legislature, still complaining of undue military interference. Finally the Legislature approved the Governor's course, and condemned the shooting of Grosvenor. One member presented a minority report, approving of the conduct of General Sheridan and Mayor Mason. The controversy then closed. General Palmer retired from office in 1873. His strong assertion of State rights showed his Democratic inclinations, and he soon became active in that party.

In 1888 he was candidate for the governorship, but was defeated. In 1891 he was chosen United States Senator from Illinois and served out his term. In 1896 a national convention of Democrats opposed to Bryan and the Chicago platform met in Indianapolis in September. It declared in favor of a tariff for revenue only, the gold standard of monetary measurement, and the divorce of the government from banking and currency issues. General Palmer was nominated for President,

with General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. It was not expected that this ticket would receive a large number of votes. It carried no State, but it saved the self-respect of a number of life-long Democrats who could not accept the new departure of the Chicago platform of 1896.

THE GREAT FIRE OF CHICAGO.

The city of Chicago is one of the most remarkable products of modern civilization. Its settlement dates from 1832, when James Thompson made a town survey under State authority. There had previously been a French fort on the site, which was abandoned when Canada was ceded to Great Britain. In 1804 the United States government built Fort Dearborn, but in 1812, fearing it could not be held, ordered it to be abandoned. The commander, Captain Heald, having marched out on August 15th, was attacked by Pottawattamie Indians, who killed 38 soldiers, some women and children, and destroyed the fort. It was rebuilt in 1816 and occupied until 1837, when it was abandoned because the Indians had been removed beyond the Mississippi. The fort was demolished in 1856.

The rapid growth of Chicago in population and commercial importance is unparalleled. The foresight, energy and public spirit of its citizens are attested by the colossal improvements which have been successfully completed at immense cost. The river which divides it has been turned so as to bring a continuous flow of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois and Michigan canal. The city is abundantly supplied with pure water from brick tunnels extending two miles under the lake and furnished with powerful engines. The system of public parks and boulevards contributes to the health and convenience of the people. The grain elevators and commercial facilities of the city are on a gigantic scale. Yet, marvellous as had been its up-building, nothing fixed the world's attention upon it more than the great fire of 1871, the most destructive conflagration of modern times. Chicago was then largely built of wood. There had been several unusually large fires on previous days, and one of these on Saturday, October 7th, swept over 16 acres. But the great fire began on Sunday evening, October 8th, in a small wooden barn on De Koven street, in the southern part of the West division, near the river. It is said to have been caused by a cow's kicking over a lighted coal-oil lamp. The buildings around were chiefly of wood,

and there were large lumber yards along the river. Through these the flames raged with great fury and were carried by the strong westerly wind across the South branch. The South division was closely built up with stores, warehouses and public buildings. These were constructed of stone, brick and iron, and many were supposed to be fire-proof. On Monday the fire continued all day, and crossed the main channel of the Chicago river into the North division. This division was chiefly occupied by dwellings. Although many houses had been blown up by gunpowder in the hope of staying its progress, the last house was not reached until Tuesday morning. Many of the ruins continued to burn for months.

In the West division 194 acres were burnt over (including the district burnt on Saturday). It included the Union Depot of the St. Louis and the Pittsburg and Fort Wayne Railroads. Five hundred buildings were destroyed and 2250 persons rendered homeless. In the South division 460 acres were burnt over; between the South branch and the Lake only one block was left unburnt. This comprised the most expensive structures in the city, wholesale stores, newspaper offices, the principal banks, insurance and law offices, nearly all the hotels, factories, coal-yards, Court House, Custom House, Chamber of Commerce, Post Office, theatres. Of the 3650 buildings destroyed 1650 were stores, 28 hotels, 60 manufacturing establishments; 21,800 persons were deprived of homes. In the North division, which was occupied by residences, there was still wider devastation; 1470 acres were burnt over. Of 13,800 buildings only 500 were left standing; 600 stores and 100 manufacturing establishments were burnt, and 74,450 persons rendered homeless. The total area burnt over was 2124 acres; 17,450 buildings were destroyed, and 98,500 persons deprived of homes; 250 persons lost their lives. The value of the property destroyed was estimated at \$196,000,000, distributed as follows:—17,450 buildings, valued at \$53,000,000; produce destroyed, flour, grain, lumber, coal, etc., \$5,262,500; stores and stocks of merchandise, \$78,700,000; personal effects, \$58,710,000. In the latter is included money to the amount of \$5,700,000. The total loss to the city, including depreciation in real estate and loss in business, was estimated at \$290,000,000. The insurance amounted to \$100,000,000 but there was not more than \$40,000,000 collected. About \$6,000,000 was sustained by foreign companies.

Fifty-six insurance companies were obliged to suspend on account of this unprecedented calamity; 11 in Chicago, 16 in New

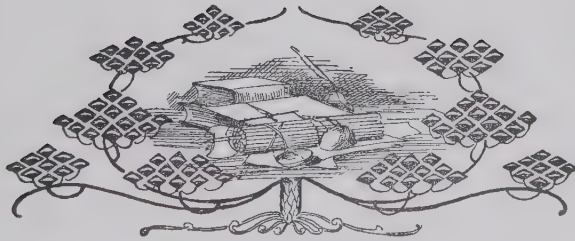
York ; 5 each in Hartford, Providence, and Boston ; 3 each in Buffalo, Cleveland and San Francisco.

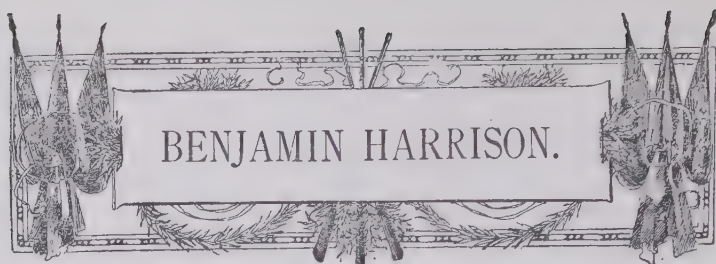
The population of Chicago before the fire was 334,270 ; of these 98,500 were left homeless, and 50,000 more left the city. Nevertheless there was quickly a great inrush of people seeking employment in rebuilding the burnt city. There had been 50,000 buildings and the 17,450 destroyed were supposed to be worth one-half of the full value. The valuation of property in September was : Land, \$294,836,000 ; buildings, \$99,928,000 ; personal property, \$172,235,000 ; property not taxed, \$52,915,000 ; making a total of \$620,000,000.

The suffering caused by the conflagration was very great. Prompt expression of sympathy and offers of material aid came from all parts of America and from many parts of Europe. A Relief and Aid Society was promptly organized to receive and distribute supplies. In one month \$2,050,000 was received, and 60,000 persons aided. Persons whose houses were burnt were encouraged to erect small temporary homes on the same ground or on other. In this way 4000 houses were built at a cost of \$1,200,000, giving shelter to 20,000 persons.

Governor Palmer promptly convened the Legislature on October 13th to consider relief measures. The Mayor, R. B. Mason, reported that the city was without money except funds set apart by law, and could not pay current expenses. He considered that taxes ought not to be collected for a year or two ; rigid economy should be practiced, and the interest on city bonds must be paid. The State reimbursed to the city the money which it had contributed for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. By taking part of the Illinois Central Railroad fund, and imposing a special tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills on each dollar on the assessments for 1871-2, and by a temporary loan, there was raised altogether \$2,955,340. At the request of the Mayor, General P. H. Sheridan took charge of the order of the city, using two companies of United States troops besides special police. Eight companies were summoned from Omaha and other places. Colonel F. T. Sherman was appointed to organize a regiment of volunteers for twenty days' service. The Governor sent some companies of State militia, but on October 19th asked the Mayor to dispense with troops, believing the police force sufficient to preserve order. General Sheridan had also furnished tents and supplies to relieve the destitute. The total amount contributed in money, provisions and clothing for the relief of sufferers is estimated at \$7,000,000.

The business of the city was speedily resumed. Before the winter merchants were doing business in temporary wooden stores and in dwelling-houses. Within a year a large part of the burnt district was rebuilt, at an expenditure of \$40,500,000, and other buildings were erected beyond its limits. The new stores and dwellings erected in the following year were more substantial than those destroyed. In July of that year there was another large conflagration, but fortunately much less extensive and destructive than the one which has left a notable page in the history of our country. Within three years very few traces of the great calamity were left. Phoenix-like, Chicago had arisen from its ashes and started on a career more marvellous than its former achievement.





BENJAMIN HARRISON, who signed the Declaration of Independence, was, physically, the largest man in the Congress of that time. His descendant, bearing the same name, was known in the army as "Little Ben," and was the smallest man who ever became President of the United States. His grandfather, who held the same office for one month, was a tall, thin man with a martial bearing, while the grandson was a short, compactly built man of inconspicuous appearance.

Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the 20th of August, 1833. He was the third son of John Scott Harrison, a farmer. Benjamin assisted on the farm while getting his early education. He graduated from Miami University in 1852, and studied law. He married in October, 1853, Caroline L. Scott, whose father was principal of the Female Seminary at Oxford, Ohio. Early in the next spring they removed to Indianapolis, which remained their home till public duty called them to Washington. By diligence and perseverance Harrison was successful as a lawyer. In 1860 he was nominated by the Republicans for the office of reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana, and after a thorough canvass of the State was elected. In 1862 he felt it his duty to assist in crushing the rebellion. When the Seventieth Indiana regiment was raised, Governor Oliver P. Morton appointed Harrison its colonel. The regiment was ordered to join General Don Carlos Buell at Bowling Green, Kentucky. It was chiefly occupied in guarding railroads. In January, 1864, Colonel Harrison was put in command of a brigade. Attached to General Joseph Hooker's command, he made the campaign

from Chattanooga to Atlanta. He fought at Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain and Peach Tree Creek. The thorough discipline of his brigade won the praise of his commander. While General Sherman was besieging Atlanta, Harrison was sent to Indiana to obtain recruits. He was afterwards transferred to Nashville under General George H. Thomas. In the spring of 1865 he rejoined his brigade in the Twentieth Army Corps and remained with it until mustered out in June, 1865. The brevet of brigadier-general was conferred on him.

In the meantime he had been re-elected reporter of the State Supreme Court, and returned to resume that place. He afterwards declined a renomination and devoted himself to practice at the bar. During the presidential campaigns of 1868 and 1872 he traveled through the State and addressed large audiences. In 1876 Harrison, after declining the nomination for governor, reluctantly accepted it, but was defeated by James D. Williams, familiarly called "Blue Jeans," from his homely attire.

In the next year came the great railroad strike, extending over a large part of the country. On July 23d, the Union depot at Indianapolis was seized by the strikers, who stopped freight trains and thereby interrupted commerce. At the call of the mayor of the city a Committee of Safety was chosen by an assemblage of citizens. It was composed of prominent men of both parties. It made arrangements for forming companies for military duty, if needed, and appointed a committee to confer with the strikers. General Harrison, as a member of this committee, counselled obedience to the law, and at the same time promised to use his influence to secure a redress of grievances for the railroad men. He accepted the appointment as captain of one of the military companies, but a few days later when requested by Governor Williams to take command of all the military forces organized in the State, declined the commission, and recommended for the place General Daniel Macauley, who was appointed. The conferences with the strikers went on, and on July 27th they were induced to yield possession of the Union depot, on condition that their wrongs should be redressed. Harrison, whose friendliness to laboring men was well known, had

been most influential in securing this peaceful termination of the difficulty.

General Harrison was chosen chairman of the Indiana delegation in the Republican convention at Chicago in 1880. His name was placed in nomination for President, but he voted for Blaine, and afterwards for Garfield. In the subsequent election the Republicans regained control of the Indiana legislature, and Harrison was by it chosen United States Senator for the term from 1881 to 1887. He was prominent as a counsellor and director of his party, especially after Cleveland became President. When the Republican National Convention was held in June, 1888, Blaine, who was then abroad, had declined to be a candidate. Senator John Sherman was the most prominent candidate. Harrison received 83 votes on the first ballot, but four candidates surpassed this. On the eighth ballot Harrison received 544 votes and was declared the nominee. President Cleveland was unanimously nominated by the Democrats at St. Louis for a second term. He had already made the tariff the chief issue in the contest. In his annual message in December, 1887, he had fiercely attacked the principle of protection to American industries. The House of Representatives, which had a Democratic majority, passed the Mills bill, which embodied a tariff for revenue only. The Senate had not finally acted on this measure. The question was therefore open to the people. Harrison argued strongly for Protection, and made this prominent in the campaign. The contest was devoid of the bitter personalities of the previous strife. The vote of the Electoral College stood : Harrison, 233 ; Cleveland, 168. The popular vote was : Harrison, 5,444,053 ; Cleveland, 5,538,536.

President Harrison was inaugurated on March 4, 1889. He made James G. Blaine Secretary of State, and William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury. The latter soon died, and was succeeded by Charles Foster, of Ohio. The Congress was Republican in both branches by a small majority. The House proceeded to put in effect the principles of the Republican platform, and prepared the McKinley tariff bill, which increased the free list, but imposed higher duties on many articles. In the Senate it underwent many

modifications, but was finally passed. A serious struggle arose in regard to silver coinage, and finally a compromise, known as the Sherman act, was adopted. The Secretary of the Treasury was required to buy in the open market monthly not less than 2,000,000 ounces of silver, and issue certificates on the amount at the rate of one dollar for each $37\frac{1}{2}$ grains, which should be legal tender. An international conference was called in the hope of remonetizing silver, but this failed. The Sherman act also failed to stop the decline of silver in value.

There were some foreign complications during Harrison's administration. In New Orleans an Italian society, known as "the Mafia," killed the chief of police. Several Italians were arrested and placed in jail. On March 14, 1891, a mob broke open the doors, shot seven Italians and hanged two. Italy demanded an apology and reparation. Although Secretary Blaine tried to show that under our form of government the responsibility lay with Louisiana, Italy was not satisfied, and recalled her minister. After a time the United States government paid \$25,000 recompense to the families of the murdered men. In Chile in 1891 the President was deposed and took refuge with the American minister. The successful revolutionists were greatly enraged at his escape. The revolutionary steamer "Itata" was seized in a California port, but departed suddenly. A United States vessel pursued and captured her. This further provoked the revolutionists. When the U. S. cruiser "Baltimore" was at Valparaiso in October, some of her crew went ashore. They were attacked by a mob and two sailors were killed. President Harrison demanded an apology and indemnity. When Chile hesitated, preparations were made for war. Then she yielded, and paid \$75,000. In 1892 the Brazilian navy revolted against the Republican government which had been established three years before. The navy established a blockade at Rio Janeiro and some other ports. Captain W. E. Benham, in command of an American war vessel, refused to recognize this illegal blockade at Rio Janeiro, and escorted some American merchant vessels to the docks. The rebel navy did not open fire, as they had threatened. Then the British and German vessels

claimed the right to enter. In a short time the rebellion was at an end. The courageous action of Captain Benham was highly approved by his countrymen.

After the purchase of Alaska by the United States the seal-fisheries proved very profitable, and were greatly increased. The government had to make regulations to prevent the extinction of the seals. But the Canadian fishermen refused to submit to these restrictions and evaded observance of them. The British government, on complaint being made, had agreed to supervise the conduct of these poachers, and sent a few naval vessels to Behring Sea, which practically did nothing. President Harrison took a firm stand to maintain the rights of the United States, its citizens and its wards, the poor natives of the Aleutian islands, who were in danger of extermination by the ruthless pirates. Lord Salisbury, who had objected to the *modus vivendi*, established under his predecessors, finally accepted it, until a new treaty could be made.

In 1890 the elections went against the Republicans. President Harrison, while striving earnestly for the welfare of the country, did not gratify the wishes of the Republican politicians. They became indifferent and even hostile to his administration. On the other hand, the Democratic leaders and newspapers stirred up animosity against the McKinley tariff before there was time to judge of its actual effect. The year 1892, according to official statistics, was the most prosperous up to that time. The foreign trade was large, domestic trade was the largest known since clearing-house statistics were gathered, manufactures were on an unprecedented scale. Those familiar with these facts expected Harrison to be renominated and easily elected. But the President was greatly afflicted by the loss of his wife and gave little attention to party affairs. The leaders were full of spite at him for personal reasons, and those managers who had heretofore thwarted Blaine's ambition now took this popular favorite as their candidate in the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis. There had been some personal differences between Harrison and Blaine and the latter resigned his secretaryship just before the convention. Harrison, however, was renominated for the

Presidency with Whitelaw Reid as candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic Convention at Chicago renominated ex-President Cleveland. In the subsequent campaign there was general apathy among the Republicans, but spirited work on the Democratic side. The result was the election of Cleveland. The electoral vote stood: Cleveland, 277; Harrison, 145. The popular vote was: Cleveland, 5,556,562; Harrison, 5,162,874; Weaver (Populist), 1,055,424. During Harrison's administration the States of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Washington, North Dakota, and South Dakota had been admitted. These had been counted as safely Republican, and the chairman of the campaign committee of that party was from Montana. Yet they nearly all went Populist or Democratic.

In 1893 President Harrison returned to private life and resumed the practice of law. His thorough acquaintance with the practical operation of our national government is shown in his work on "This Country of Ours." In 1899 President McKinley commissioned him as a member of the Council of Arbitration on the Venezuela Boundary. This Council met in August at Paris and finished its work in October. The decision was a compromise in favor of most of the claims of Great Britain.

The entire career of Benjamin Harrison was marked by a high regard for religion. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church, and a delegate to the General Assembly of that denomination. Though small in stature, he was dignified in manner, and ready in speech. His fine career of public usefulness, which had by no means been brought to a close by his retirement from the Presidency, came to an end with his death, March 13, 1901, at his home in Indianapolis.



REMARKABLE reconstruction of the views long prevalent in regard to history has followed the publication of Captain Alfred T. Mahan's "The Influence of Sea-Power upon History, 1660 to 1783." Whereas formerly the offensive and defensive strength of nations was commonly believed to lie mainly in the armies, this work proved by conspicuous examples that the sea-power of great nations was not incidental, but a main element in their superiority. It roused all the great Powers of Europe as well as the United States to a higher appreciation of the importance of the navy. Even England, which had by force of its world-wide commerce been paying much attention to the improvement of its ships and guns, felt new reasons for its traditional course. Soon the impulse thus started was manifested in every commercial country in larger appropriations for building more terrible engines of destruction on sea and for training men to direct these engines to their destination. Before these theoretical lessons could be fully carried out in practice Captain Mahan was, by the law, retired from active service, and it fell to his juniors to give world-convincing proof of the correctness of his ideas. Yet his country was not entirely deprived of his valuable attainments, for he rendered efficient service on the Naval War Board, which directed the movements of the most remarkable naval war in which the United States has taken part.

Alfred Thayer Mahan was born in New York city, Novem-

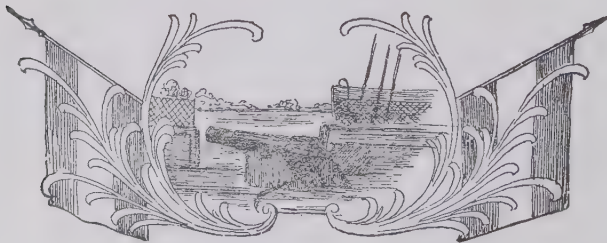
ber 17, 1838. He entered the Naval Academy in 1856 and graduated in 1859, served on the Brazilian Squadron until the Civil War. He then served as lieutenant on the South Atlantic and West Gulf blockading squadrons, and at the close of the war became a lieutenant commander. In 1867 he joined the Asiatic Squadron and, in 1869, had command of the steamer "Aroostook." He served at the New York and Boston Navy Yards, becoming commander in November, 1872. From 1877 to 1880 he was an instructor in the Naval Academy. In 1885 he attained the rank of captain, and began to give instruction in the Naval War College. His lectures in this institution, of which he soon was made president, furnished the substance of his notable publications. After four years of service he was transferred to the Bureau of Navigation, where he spent three years. Then again he was president of the War College until May, 1893, when he went to Europe in command of the steam cruiser "Chicago." In Europe he was received with all the attentions due to one who had introduced and elucidated new ideas in the study of national greatness. After his return he was retired at his own request in November, 1896.

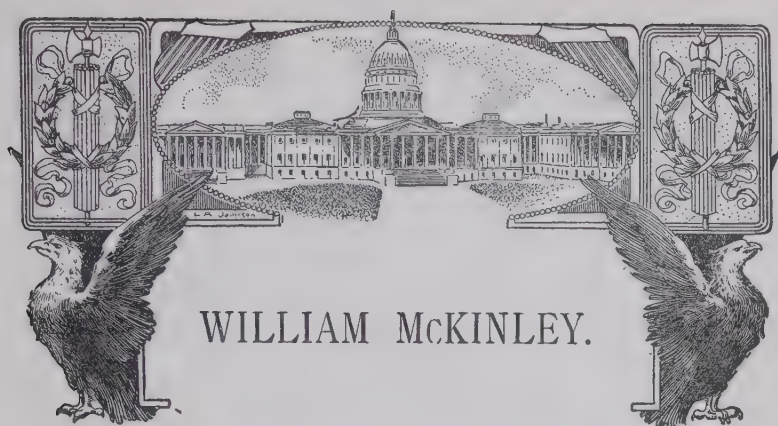
Captain Mahan continued his self-appointed task in a new volume, equally admirable, "The Influence of Sea Power upon History during the French Revolution." The same ideas are presented in a different way in his valuable "Life of Lord Nelson," which has been hailed with delight in England, as setting forth vividly the real greatness of the British naval hero. Still later, in 1897, the author made a direct application of his views to the needs of our own country in "The Interest of America in Sea-Power." In this he pointed out the vast increase of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, France and Germany since 1884, chiefly in Africa. He emphasized the importance of the Pacific Ocean for the United States, urging the annexation of Hawaii before it should be seized by some European Power. Attention was also called to the future of the Caribbean Sea, Cuba and Jamaica, in the event of the opening of an Isthmian canal.

In May, 1898, Captain Mahan was appointed a member of the Naval War Board, and rendered important service. Since

the close of the war he has published a valuable resumé of its naval strategy.

The works of Captain Mahan are characterized by vividness in setting forth the facts of the subject treated, sagacity in drawing conclusions from them for future use, and power in impressing these on all readers. The ideas which he enforces about sea-power had been ignored by former historians, though partly apprehended by great statesmen of the past. His own attention was first called to them when in reading Mommsen's "History of Rome," he found that in treating Hannibal's campaigns in Italy the important fact of the Roman control of the Mediterranean was neglected. Further examination of later history showed that this was a common fault. Captain Mahan took the opportunity to correct this, and achieved his own fame by presenting in concise, clear and vigorous style the naval history of modern times. Although his books have to do with the era of sailing vessels, he exhibits the principles of warfare which still apply, even when the naval architects of all nations are striving to outstrip one another in building swifter steamers with heavier armor and more perfect guns. The Spanish war has proved that victory will rest with the bravest and most skillful captain even against an opponent, superior in armament, but deficient in nerve.





IN 1896 the people of the United States, after a remarkable campaign, in which the parties were almost equally divided, elected the Republican, William McKinley, to the Presidency. In the preceding quadrennial contest the chief dispute had been over the tariff bill, bearing his name, and had terminated in its condemnation. A new controversy had come to the front, and the leading question was really whether the United States should join the leading nations of Europe in adopting the gold standard. Yet so strong was the reaction from its previous decision that in the Republican party there was a strong popular demand for the nomination of McKinley. While the Democratic platform declared unequivocally for the remonetization of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, the Republican platform was sufficiently pronounced in favor of gold to draw even part of the Democratic forces to its aid. McKinley was therefore elected.

William McKinley was born at Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, on January 29, 1843. He is of Scotch-Irish descent; the earliest representative in America settled in York county, Pennsylvania, about 1743. David McKinley, son of the immigrant, served in the Revolutionary army, and in 1814 removed to Ohio, where the family has since chiefly resided. His grandson (William 1807-1892) was engaged in the manufacture of iron. His son William, who has become President, was the seventh child in a family of nine. In 1852 his father removed to Poland, Ohio, and there William received his early education. At the age of sixteen he became a mem-

ber of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he had been trained. A year later he entered Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., but was obliged to leave on account of failure of his health. When the Civil War broke out, he was a clerk in the post-office at Poland, but enlisted as a volunteer in the Twenty-third Ohio Infantry on June 11, 1861. Rutherford B. Hayes was an officer of this regiment. During four years of its organization it comprised nearly 3000 men and was engaged in nineteen battles, among which were South Mountain and Antietam. After serving fourteen months, McKinley was promoted sergeant, and in September, 1862, was made lieutenant. In 1863 his regiment made a raid on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad reaching Staunton and approaching Lynchburg, whence they had to retreat through a very mountainous district. It then intercepted the Confederate raider John Morgan and assisted in his capture. In July, 1864, McKinley distinguished himself by bearing Colonel Hayes' orders across the enemy's front to a West Virginia regiment which was in danger of capture, and by saving some artillery. He was then promoted captain. At Opequan and Fisher's Hill, McKinley was aide to General George Crook. On October 19, 1864, McKinley was with the Union forces at Cedar Creek when they were surprised by the Confederate General J. A. Early, but Sheridan rode up from Winchester and retrieved the day. When General Crook was captured by the Confederates soon afterward, Hancock took charge of the Department and retained McKinley on his staff. On March 14, 1865, he received from President Lincoln his commission as Major by brevet in the United States Volunteers. After participating in the grand review at Washington in May, 1865, he returned home and was mustered out July 26. He had had but one furlough during his four years' service and was never absent on sick leave.

Major McKinley began the study of law at Poland, completed his course at the Law School in Albany, New York, and in May, 1867, was admitted to the bar at Warren, Ohio. He settled at Canton, and soon was active in politics as a Republican. Though Stark county was usually Democratic, McKinley was elected prosecuting attorney in 1869. Two

years later he missed re-election by 45 votes. For five years he was engaged in private practice, but still spoke frequently in political campaigns.

Major McKinley married in January, 1871, Miss Ida Saxton, whose grandparents were among the founders of Canton. Her father was a banker, and she, after receiving a good education, was employed as cashier in her father's bank. Two daughters were born to them, but died in infancy, and Mrs. McKinley's health has been delicate. In spite of his public occupations her husband has ever made her comfort his first concern.

In 1875 the political contest in Ohio was chiefly concerned with the question of paper money. Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, was opposed to inflation, which was advocated by the Democrats. In this contest McKinley was a prominent speaker. His political ability was so marked that in 1876 he was elected to Congress, and thereafter was much in demand as a public speaker in all parts of the country. As Blaine says in his "Twenty Years of Congress," "The interests of his constituency and his own bent of mind led him to the study of industrial questions, and he was soon recognized in the House as one of the most thorough statisticians and one of the ablest defenders of the doctrine of protection."

In 1877 Ohio went Democratic, and the legislature so re-arranged the Congressional districts as to place McKinley in a new district having a strong Democratic majority. Yet by an energetic canvass against a worthy opponent, McKinley was re-elected by 1234 majority. In Congress he spoke with much force against the repeal of the Federal election laws. McKinley was appointed on the Judiciary Committee and succeeded Garfield on the Ways and Means Committee. He was chairman of the Committee on the Garfield Memorial Exercises in the House in 1881. His old district had been restored by the Ohio legislature in 1880. McKinley took an active part in the debates in regard to the revision of the tariff, strongly defending the principle of protection and preferring that the tariff should be framed by Congress rather than by a commission. In 1882 the elections were largely in favor of

the Democrats. In Ohio they elected 13 out of 21 Congressmen. McKinley escaped defeat by the narrow margin of 8 votes. When the Tariff Commission presented its report, the Ways and Means Committee framed a bill based upon it and reducing the existing duties about 20 per cent. McKinley supported this measure in a strong argumentative speech, but the Senate prepared a substitute, which was passed. In 1884 there was a Democratic majority in the House, but the Morrison tariff bill, presented by the Ways and Means Committee, rejected the principle of protection. It was earnestly opposed by McKinley on this ground, and was defeated by the aid of Samuel J. Randall and forty other Democrats.

In 1884 McKinley presided at the Ohio Republican State Convention and was unanimously sent as a delegate-at-large to the National Convention, where he served on the Committee on Platform. His help was given to the nomination of Blaine, and he was active in the ensuing campaign. As the Democrats had carried the Ohio legislature in 1883 and again altered his Congressional district, he was obliged to exert his energies to secure a re-election. In this he was successful. In 1886 his district was restored and he was elected for the sixth time. When President Cleveland vetoed the Dependent Pension bill, McKinley urged its passage over the veto as a "simple act of justice," to save the needy veterans from hunger and the almshouse. In his annual message December 6, 1887, Cleveland denounced the protective tariff laws as "the vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation." Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, then introduced a tariff bill, taking a long step towards free trade. McKinley was of necessity the leader in opposition to this measure. He spoke not only in the House, but to the Ohio State Grange at Canton, to the Home Market Club at Boston, and elsewhere in defence of Protection as intended for the benefit of the whole people and not of the manufacturing class only. On May 18th, the closing day of the debate on the Mills bill, ex-Speaker S. J. Randall rose from his death-bed to protest against that bill. As he spoke slowly and with great difficulty, he had not concluded his argument

when his time expired. He asked permission to finish, but Mr. Mills exclaimed, "I object." The chair then announced that "the gentleman from Ohio has the floor." Immediately McKinley spoke, "Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania out of my time all that he may need in which to finish his speech on this bill." The House and crowded galleries applauded and Randall arose, thanked his friend from Ohio and laboriously concluded his speech. The genuine courtesy of the act gave emphasis to the elaborate speech that followed, full of cogent argument and convincing illustrations. Its central position was that protection was designed to give wage-earners sufficient pay to render them independent, as befits citizens of the republic.

In the Republican National Convention of 1888 McKinley was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and assisted largely in framing the platform which he reported to the convention. Against his own desire he was voted for as presidential candidate, but he adhered faithfully to John Sherman. Harrison, however, secured the prize, and in the campaign McKinley spoke frequently in his behalf. McKinley was elected to the House for the seventh time by an increased majority. The Mills bill passed the House, but a substitute was adopted by the Senate, and the House refused a committee of conference. Against this action McKinley protested, showing that the revenues could by it be largely reduced without either side surrendering its principles.

The Fifty-first Congress had a small Republican majority, and at its organization in December, 1889, McKinley was a candidate for Speaker in the Republican caucus, but was defeated by Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. McKinley, being made chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, became the leader of the House at a critical time. The minority undertook to obstruct legislation, but their tactics were overborne by the Speaker's courageous firmness and McKinley's effective arguments. The tariff was still the chief subject of contention between the parties. McKinley first introduced a bill to simplify the collection of the revenue, and in April, 1890, brought in the elaborate tariff measure which has since borne his name. All classes interested in its preparation had been freely and

fully heard by the committee. In advocacy of it McKinley delivered one of his ablest speeches on May 7th. The bill was passed by the House May 21st, but was largely amended by the Senate before being passed September 11th. The chief amendment was that providing for reciprocity, which was accepted by the House. The bill became a law by President Harrison's signature October 6, 1890. In the meantime the Ohio legislature had again become Democratic and perpetrated a shameful gerrymander for the purpose of shutting McKinley out of Congress. The strongest Democratic leaders joined in the effort to accomplish this result. Although McKinley's vigorous campaign reduced the opposition majority from the expected 3,000 to 300, he was defeated. Throughout the country there was a similar reaction, and the next Congress was Democratic by a large majority. But in Ohio there arose a movement for vindication of the Republican champion by making him candidate for governor. In June, 1891, he was unanimously nominated in the Republican State Convention. In his campaign he made addresses in every county in Ohio, maintaining his convictions in regard to protection and sound money. Although his opponent, W. D. Campbell, had been elected governor in 1889 by a plurality of 11,000, McKinley now defeated him by 21,500. In his inaugural address he warned his fellow-citizens against the evil of gerrymanders.

In 1892 McKinley favored the renomination and re-election of President Harrison, but his own name was voted for. Although the national election again turned against Protection and its friends, McKinley still upheld the cause at every opportunity. In 1893 the Ohio State election turned on national issues, and his plurality reached 81,000. Besides discharging faithfully his duties as governor, he was constantly in requisition as an orator on public and political questions in various parts of the country, and responded to these demands as frequently as his official duties would allow. When his term expired, he returned to his unpretentious frame house at Canton. His private fortune had been impaired by losses in the iron business and by his endorsing notes for a former partner. McKinley devoted himself with energy to his profession to retrieve his losses. Wealthy friends also came to his aid, re-

garding him as one who had suffered for the public welfare. When the next national campaign was approaching, it was manifest that there was a strong desire among the mass of Republican voters that McKinley be made the standard-bearer in the Presidential contest. The party managers, however, seemed to be looking for another man, but could not agree on an acceptable candidate. State after State declared for McKinley, and when the Convention assembled at St. Louis in June, 1896, he was the choice of two-thirds of the delegates. But in the meantime a strong movement had been organized in behalf of the free coinage of silver, and a number of Republican delegates from silver-mining States, finding their views rejected, withdrew from the Convention. McKinley was nominated on the first ballot. The campaign turned upon the question of sound money rather than protection. McKinley refused to go on a speech-making tour, and referred all inquirers to his letter of acceptance for his views. The people, unable to induce him to leave his home, began to flock thither on excursion trains, and he made many addresses of welcome to these visitors. These talks were noted for their good sense, versatility and appropriateness. The Democratic Convention at Chicago was highly enthusiastic. Carried away by the eloquence of William Jennings Bryan, it nominated him on the first ballot, much to the surprise of the party managers. Bryan, though previously little known, proved to be a formidable candidate. He made speeches throughout the country, and though distrusted and repudiated by many leaders in the East, he carried the mass of the party with him. In the end McKinley had a popular vote of 7,104,779, while Bryan had 6,502,925. Of the electoral votes McKinley had 271, and Bryan 176.

President McKinley called to his cabinet John Sherman as Secretary of State, Lyman J. Gage as Secretary of the Treasury, Russell A. Alger as Secretary of War, John D. Long as Secretary of the Navy, James A. Gary as Postmaster General, Joseph McKenna as Attorney General, Cornelius N. Bliss as Secretary of the Interior, and James Wilson as Secretary of Agriculture. Judge McKenna, the only member younger than the President, had been his associate in Con-

gress, and has since been appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court.

During the first year of President McKinley's administration attention was chiefly directed to financial questions. There was an alarming deficit in the revenues, which had been partly met by issuing bonds in Cleveland's administration, and there had been apprehensions that Congress would declare for the free coinage of silver. The latter was settled by the Republican victory at the polls, and Congress endeavored to remedy the deficit by passing the Dingley tariff bill, which resembled the former McKinley tariff. Further measures for raising revenue were made necessary by the Spanish war in 1898. Although deficits still continued, the alarm caused by them abated. In consideration of the interests of the United States as a silver-producing country, President McKinley sent three envoys to Europe to discuss with representatives of other governments the monetary problem and to effect some agreement in regard to the use of silver. It was found impracticable to make any arrangement for bimetallism.

The condition of Cuba, under the intolerable domination of Spain, had been so alarming that Congress was ready under President Cleveland's administration to recognize the independence of the island had he favored the movement. The cruel government of the butcher Weyler was so shocking to humanity that McKinley protested and notified Spain that war must cease in a certain time. Weyler was recalled to Spain and received as a hero. Blanco was sent out to introduce a limited so-called autonomy, which still left every person and thing at the discretion of the Captain-General. The *reconcentrados*, who had been gathered into the towns, were allowed to return to their burnt houses, but were often killed by Spanish soldiers.

In January, 1898, the concentration of the naval forces showed that matters had reached an acute stage. Congress and the press were impatient at the President's prudent slowness. The Spanish Ambassador, Dupuy de Lome, was found to have written disrespectfully of the President as a time-serving politician. When this was published, the ambassador resigned before a request for his recall was made. In Febru-

ary the battleship "Maine," while on a visit to Havana, was blown up by a submarine mine, causing the loss of two officers and the entire crew of 264 men. Congress could hardly be restrained from immediately declaring war after this treacherous act, though the actual perpetrators were unknown. The court of inquiry merely established that the vessel had been blown up from the outside. Diplomatic pressure was still brought to bear on Spain to relinquish Cuba, but in vain. On April 20th President McKinley signed the joint resolution of Congress, declaring that Cuba ought to be free and independent. On the next day the Spanish Minister Polo y Beruabe asked for his passports and went to Canada.

War was then declared against Spain on the ground of humanity for the suffering Cubans and the injury to American interests by this prolonged butchery and devastation. The Spanish-American war is treated separately. Although the United States were far from being properly prepared for carrying on a foreign war, especially in tropical countries, the enthusiasm of the people was such as to overcome all obstacles, and to conclude in four months a war which trained observers had calculated would hardly be begun in that time. Spain was supposed to be especially well provided with naval strength. Her war vessels were reputed to be of the best modern style, superior in size and armament to most of the American navy. Yet two of her fleets were speedily destroyed by the surpassing seamanship, gunnery and naval skill of the thoroughly trained commanders and men of the American navy. The army displayed its bravery in a hasty invasion of Cuba, not for a long siege of Havana, as had been expected, but for the capture of Santiago. The fall of this place proved the inability of the effete Spanish monarchy to cope with the robust republic of the West on either land or sea. Recognizing her inevitable fate, she sued for peace. It was granted on magnanimous terms. Spain relinquished the sovereignty of Cuba, ceded Porto Rico to the United States, and instead of having to pay any war indemnity, received \$20,000,000 as compensation for her claims on the Philippines, from which her forces were driven.

The joy of the American people in the speedy and honora-

ble termination of this war, undertaken from humane motives, was marred by the unnecessary suffering to which the soldiers had been subjected by the inefficiency of some branches of the War Department. Especial blame was cast by the press on its head, Russell A. Alger, but the real cause of the breakdown of the management was the impossibility of procuring the necessary trained help for the sudden enlargement of a system adapted only to a small regular army. It was impossible to improvise an efficient staff-service from untrained civilians, who volunteered their services. The American army suffered in Cuba just as the English army had suffered in the Crimea. A committee of citizens appointed by President McKinley in September to investigate the department, reported various defects and neglects, but thought it unwise to punish any individuals for the serious errors and faults. General Charles P. Eagan was condemned by a court-martial for maladministration of the commissary bureau, and sentenced to be dismissed, but the President commuted this sentence to suspension for six years, allowing him full pay, in consideration of past honorable service. There was still a public clamor for the removal of Secretary Alger, and that official resigned in July, 1899.

There had been other notable changes in President McKinley's cabinet. Hon. John Sherman, who had been Secretary of State, resigned in April, 1898, when the war was imminent, and Judge William R. Day, who had been Assistant Secretary, took his place. When the treaty of peace was to be negotiated at Paris, Secretary Day was sent thither as the head of the United States Commissioners. Hon. John Hay, who had been minister to England, was recalled to take his place in the cabinet.

President McKinley had always been a sincere advocate of civil service reform. Yet he believed that the large extension of this system made by President Cleveland toward the close of his administration had been too sweeping, and therefore, in due time, directed that modifications should be made. A schedule of the changes desired was prepared by a former member of the Civil Service Commission. When promulgated by President McKinley in June, 1899, the number of

changes authorized was found greater than the friends of the reform approved. Yet the general principle was maintained.

William McKinley has been charged by his critics with militarism and imperialism. But the only basis for the charge was the assumption of the control of the Philippines, which was urged by the American people when the Spanish dominion there was terminated. He sought at first only a port and coaling station, but was compelled by the logic of events to make larger demands. The remoteness of the islands prevented both the proper knowledge of their condition, and the speedy prosecution of the war, unexpectedly forced by the natives. McKinley constantly insisted that armed resistance to the United States must be stopped before the problem of the final disposal of the islands could be settled.

William McKinley was a careful observer of the changes of public opinion, and modified his course thereby. Mindful of the troubles of various past administrations, he kept in touch with the party leaders in the national legislature, avoiding personal antagonisms, and endeavoring to conciliate even the members of the opposite party. In this course he was more successful than any other President since the Civil War.

When the time came for the meeting of the Republican National Convention in 1900, there was but one candidate: William McKinley was renominated by acclamation. The seal of public approval was set upon his administration by the November elections, which gave him a large plurality over the Democratic candidate, Mr. Bryan. With Theodore Roosevelt as Vice-President, he was inaugurated for the second time, March 4, 1901.

The policies already outlined were continued with increasing national prosperity and good feeling. It may justly be said that William McKinley reached the height of his public career in his powerful speech at Buffalo, on the fifth of September, 1901, the day before he was struck down by the pistol of the assassin, Czolgosz.

For several days the injury was regarded as not likely

to be fatal, but a change came swiftly, and the President breathed his last September 14, 1901, amid the mourning of not the American nation alone, but of the whole civilized world.

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS.

(Delivered at the Music Hall, Canton, Ohio, May 30, 1894.)

This day has been given to the dead, but its lessons are intended for the living. It has been the occasion for a generous manifestation on the part of the people of their gratitude to the men who saved the country in war. But its true intent will have been lost if it has failed to inspire in all our hearts a deeper sentiment of patriotism and a stronger attachment to those great ideas for which these men gave their lives. It is an impressive fact to contemplate that to-day millions of our fellow-citizens from every part of the country have abandoned all thoughts of business and turned their footsteps to the places where sleep our heroic dead, that they may with loving hands and grateful hearts pay tender tribute to their virtues and their valor. This consecration day is a popular demonstration of affection for the patriotic dead, and bears unmistakable evidence that patriotism in the United States has not declined or abated.

There was nothing personally attractive about any of the features of enlistment in the War of the Rebellion. It was business of the most serious sort. Every soldier took a dreadful chance. His offering was nothing short of his own life-blood if required. This, however, then seemed insignificant in that overmastering love of country, in that fervent patriotism which filled the souls of the boys, in that high and noble resolve which they all possessed, that they were to save to themselves, to their families, and to their fellow-countrymen the freest and purest government, and to mankind the largest liberty and the highest and best civilization in the world. With that spirit more than two million men went forth to accept any sacrifice which cruel war might exact. The extent of that sacrifice exceeded human expectation, but it was offered, freely offered, for the country. Can we ever cease to be debtors to these men? Is there anything they are not worthy to receive at our hands? Is there any emolument too great for them? Is there any benefaction too bountiful? Is there any obligation too lasting? Is there any honor too distinguished which a loving people can bestow that they ought not to receive?

What the nation is or may become we owe to them. If there is one of these fighting patriots sick at heart and discouraged, the cheerful and the strong, who are the beneficiaries of his valor, should comfort and console him. If there is one who is sick or suffering from wounds, the best skill and the most tender nursing should wait upon and attend him.

It is interesting to note the size of our armies in the several wars in which the United States has participated. The number of colonial troops in the Revolution was 294,791. In the War of 1812 the total number of Americans was 576,622. In the Mexican War the troops engaged for the United States numbered 112,230. The number of Union troops engaged in the rebellion was 2,859,000, or three times the combined forces of the American army in all former wars. The magnitude of the struggle is also strikingly illustrated by a comparison of casualties. The casualties in the War of 1812 were 1,877 killed in battle, 3,739 wounded. In the Mexican War 1,049 were killed, 904 died of wounds, and 3,420 were wounded. In the War of the Rebellion 61,362 were killed outright, 34,627 died of wounds, and 183,287 died of disease. In other words, our casualties in the rebellion in killed and those who died of wounds and disease were only 15,000 less in number than the entire army of the united colonies in the war with Great Britain, and two and one-half times the entire force engaged on the part of the United States in the war with Mexico. But it gives us a truer idea of the dreadful sacrifices of the country to compare our casualties with casualties of European wars. At the battle of Waterloo there were 80,000 French with 252 guns, and of the allies 72,000 troops and 186 guns. The loss of the French was 26,000, estimated, and of the allies 23,185. At our battle of Gettysburg the Union force engaged was 82,000 and 300 guns. The Confederates had 70,000 troops and 250 guns. The loss was 25,203 to the Union forces and 27,525 to the Confederate forces. Gravelotte was the bloodiest battle of the Franco-Prussian war, and the German loss was in killed 4,449 and wounded 15,189 out of 146,000 troops engaged. Meade's loss at Gettysburg was greater in number, while he had only one-half as many men engaged.

The pension list of the Government tells well the story of the suffering of our great army. On June 30, 1893, pensions were paid to 725,742 invalid soldiers and to 185,677 widows. In the navy pensions were paid to 16,901 invalid sailors and to 6,697 widows, making a grand total of 934,817 pensioners. Our pension-roll on

June 30, 1893, contained nearly as many pensioners as the entire muster-rolls of the United States in the War of the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and the Mexican War combined. Within 50,000 as many names are now borne on our pension-rolls as were contained on the enlistment-rolls of all the armies in every war from the Revolution to the civil war.

My comrades, this long and highly honorable list is being diminished by death and will rapidly decrease as the years go by. The pension-roll has probably now reached its maximum. Hereafter it is likely to recede. Death will stalk through that patriotic list with increased rapidity as age overtakes it, as it is hourly doing—that great army of 1861. The older veterans cannot last a great while longer. Exposure has hastened to their door the steps of the pale messenger. God grant that while they are still with us they shall enjoy, without stint or grudge, the bounteous benefactions of the country they served and the respect of their neighbors and fellow-citizens! “Displaced from the pension-roll by death” carries no taint of dishonor, raises no suspicion of unworthiness. If the pension-roll is diminished or displacement occurs from other causes, let it be for reasons just and honorable. Then the patriotic sentiment of the country will approve and the soldiers of the Republic will be quick to applaud. Let us care for the needy survivors of that great struggle in the true spirit of Him who promised that the nation would “care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans.”

Sumter and Appomattox! What a flood of memories these names excite. How they come unbidden to every soldier as he contemplates the great events of the war. The one marked the beginning, the other the close of the great struggle. At one the shot was fired which threatened this Union and the downfall of liberty. The other proclaimed peace and wrote in history that the machinations which inaugurated war to establish a government with slavery as its corner-stone had failed. The one was the commencement of a struggle which drenched the nation in blood for four years; and the other was its end and the beginning of a reunited country which has lasted now for twenty-nine years, and which, God grant, may last forever and forever more, blazing the pathway of freedom to the races of man everywhere and loved by all the people of the world! The one marked the wild rush of mad passion; the other was the restoration of the cool judgment, disciplined by the terrible ordeal of four years of

bloody war. Patriotism, justice, and righteousness triumphed. The Republic which God had ordained withstood the shock of battle, and you and your comrades were the willing instruments in the hands of that Divine Power that guides nations which love and serve him.

Howells thirty-two years ago expressed the simple and sublime faith of the soldier and the prophecy of the outcome of the war in words which burn in my soul whenever I pass in review the events of that struggle. He said:

“Where are you going, soldiers,
With banner, gun and sword?”
“We’re marching south to Canaan
To battle for the Lord.”

Yes, the Lord took care of us then. Will we heed his decrees and preserve unimpaired what he permitted us to win? Liberty, my countrymen, is responsibility; responsibility is duty; duty is God’s order, and when faithfully obeyed will preserve liberty. We need have no fears of the future if we will perform every obligation of duty and of citizenship. If we lose the smallest share of our freedom we have no one to blame but ourselves. This country is ours—ours to govern, ours to guide, ours to enjoy. We are both sovereign and subject. All are now free, subject henceforth to ourselves alone. We pay no homage to an earthly throne; only to God we bend the knee. The soldier did his work and did it well. The present and the future are with the citizen, whose judgment in our free country is supreme.—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF OF 1890.

(From speech delivered in the House of Representatives, May 7, 1890.)

I do not intend to enter upon any extended discussion of the two economic systems which divide parties in this House and the people throughout the country. For two years we have been occupied in both branches of Congress and in our discussions before the people with these contending theories of taxation.

At the first session of the Fiftieth Congress the House spent several weeks in an elaborate and exhaustive discussion of these systems. The Senate was for as many weeks engaged in their investigation and in debate upon them, while in the political contest of 1888 the tariff in all its phases was the absorbing question,

made so by the political platforms of the respective parties, to the exclusion, practically, of every other subject of party division. It may be said that, from the December session of 1887-'88 to March 4, 1889, no public question ever received, in Congress and out, such scrutinizing investigation as that of the tariff. It has, therefore, seemed to me that any lengthy general discussion of these principles at this time, so soon after their thorough consideration and determination by the people, is neither expected, required, nor necessary.

If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy, as promulgated in the Republican platform and heretofore inaugurated and maintained by the Republican party, should be secured in any fiscal legislation to be had by the Congress chosen in that great contest and upon that mastering issue. I have interpreted that victory to mean, and the majority in this House and in the Senate to mean, that a revision of the tariff is not only demanded by the votes of the people, but that such revision should be on the line and in full recognition of the principle and purpose of protection. The people have spoken; they want their will registered and their decree embodied in public legislation. The bill which the Committee on Ways and Means has presented is their answer and interpretation of that victory and in accordance with its spirit and letter and purpose. We have not been compelled to abolish the internal revenue system that we might preserve the protective system, which we were pledged to do in the event that the abolition of the one was essential to the preservation of the other. That was unnecessary.

It is asserted in the views of the minority, submitted with the report accompanying this bill, that the operation of the bill will not diminish the revenues of the government; that with the increased duties we have imposed upon foreign articles which may be sent to market here we have increased taxation, and that, therefore, instead of being a diminution of the revenues of the government, there will be an increase in the sum of \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000. Now, that statement is entirely misleading. It can only be accepted upon the assumption that the importation of the present year under this bill, if it becomes a law, will be equal to the importations of like articles under the existing law; and there is not a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, there is not a member of the minority of that Committee, there is not a member of the House on either side, who does not know

that the very instant that you have increased the duties to a fair protective point, putting them above the highest revenue point, that very instant you diminish importations and to that extent diminish the revenue. Nobody can well dispute this proposition. Why, when the Senate bill was under consideration by the Committee on Ways and Means, over which my friend from Texas presided in the last Congress, the distinguished chairman of that committee [Mr. Mills] wrote a letter to Secretary Fairchild inquiring what would be the effect of increased duties proposed under the Senate bill, and this is Mr. Fairchild's reply :

"Where the rates upon articles successfully produced here are materially increased, it is fair to assume that the imports of such articles would decrease and the revenue therefrom diminish."

He further states that where the rate upon an article is so increased as to deprive the foreign producer of the power to compete with the domestic producer, the revenue from that source will cease altogether. Secretary Fairchild only states what has been the universal experience in the United States wherever increase of duties above the revenue point has been made upon articles which we can produce in the United States. Therefore, it is safe to assume that no increase of the revenues, taking the bill through, will arise from the articles upon which duties have been advanced. Now as to the schedules :

The bill recommends the retention of the present rates of duty on earthen and china ware. No other industry in the United States either deserves or requires the fostering care of government more than this one. It is a business requiring technical and artistic knowledge, and the most careful attention to the many and delicate processes through which the raw material must pass to the completed product. For many years, down to 1863, the pottery industry of the United States had very little or no success, and made but slight progress in a practical and commercial way. At the close of the low-tariff period of 1860 there was but one pottery in the United States, with two small kilns. There were no decorating kilns at the time. In 1873, encouraged by the tariff and the gold premium, which was an added protection, we had increased to 20 potteries, with 68 kilns, but still no decorating kilns. The capital invested was \$1,020,000 and the value of the product was \$1,180,000. In 1882 there were 55 potteries, 244 kilns, 26 decorating kilns, with a capital invested of \$5,076,000, and an annual product of \$5,299,140. The wages paid in the potteries in 1882 were \$2,387,000, and the number of employés

engaged therein 7,000; the ratio of wages to sales in 1882 was 45 per cent. In 1889 there were 80 potteries, 401 kilns, and decorating kilns had increased from 26 in 1882 to 188 in 1889. The capital invested in the latter year was \$10,957,357, the value of the product was \$10,389,910, amount paid in wages \$6,265,224, and the number of employes engaged 16,900. The ratio of wages to sales was 60 per cent. of decorated ware and 50 per cent. of white ware. The per cent. of wages to value of product, it will be observed, has advanced from 45 per cent. in 1882 to 60 per cent. in 1889. This increase is not due, as might be supposed, to an advance in wages, but results in a reduction in the selling price of the product and the immense increase in sales of decorated ware in which labor enters in greater proportion to materials. The total importation for 1874 and 1875 of earthenware was to the value of \$4,441,216, and in 1888 and 1889 it ran up to \$6,476,190. The American ware produced in 1889 was valued at \$10,389,910. The difference between the wages of labor in this country and competing countries in the manufacture of earthenware is fully 100 per cent.

The agricultural condition of the country has received the careful attention of the committee, and every remedy which was believed to be within the power of tariff legislation to give has been granted by this bill. The depression in agriculture is not confined to the United States. The reports of the Agricultural Department indicate that this distress is general; that Great Britain, France and Germany are suffering in a larger degree than the farmers of the United States. Mr. Dodge, statistician of the department, says, in his report of March, 1890, that the depression in agriculture in Great Britain has probably been more severe than that of any other nation, which would indicate that it is greater even in a country whose economic system differs from ours, and that this condition is inseparable from any fiscal system and less under the protective than the revenue tariff system.

It has been asserted in the views of the minority that the duty put upon wheat and other agricultural products would be of no value to the agriculturists of the United States. The committee, believing differently, has advanced the duty upon these products. As we are the greatest wheat-producing country of the world, it is habitually asserted and believed by many that this product is safe from foreign competition. We do not appreciate that while the United States last year raised 490,000,000 bushels of wheat, France raised 316,000,000 bushels, Italy raised 103,000,000

bushels, Russia 189,000,000 bushels and India 243,000,000 bushels, and that the total production of Asia, including Asia Minor, Persia and Syria, amounted to over 315,000,000 bushels. Our sharpest competition comes from Russia and India, and the increased product of other nations only serves to increase the world's supply and diminish proportionately the demand for ours; and if we will only reflect on the difference between the cost of labor of producing wheat in the United States and in competing countries, we will readily perceive how near we are to the danger line, if indeed we have not quite reached it, so far even as our own markets are concerned.

What is the nature of the complaint against this bill—that it shuts us out of the foreign market? No, for whatever that is worth to our citizens will be just as accessible under this bill as under the present law. We place no tax or burden or restraint upon American products going out of the country. They are as free to seek the best markets as the products of any commercial power, and as free to go out as though we had absolute free trade. Statistics show that protective tariffs have not interrupted our export trade, but that it has always steadily and largely increased under them.

In the year 1843, being the first year after the protective tariff of 1842 went into operation, our exports exceeded our imports \$40,392,229, and in the following year they exceeded our imports \$3,141,226. In the two years following the excess of exports over imports was \$15,475,000. The last year under that tariff the excess of exports over imports was \$34,317,249. So during the five years of the tariff of 1842 the excess of exports over imports was \$62,175,000. Under the low tariff of 1846, this was reversed, and, with the single exception of the year 1858, the imports exceeded the exports (covering a period of fourteen years) \$465,553,625.

We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the Federal Government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world. In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures, in invention, in

scientific principles applied to manufacture and agriculture, in wealth and credit and national honor we are at the very front, abreast with the best and behind none.

In 1860, after fourteen years of a revenue tariff, just the kind of a tariff that our political adversaries are advocating to-day, the business of the country was prostrated, agriculture was deplorably depressed, manufacturing was on the decline and the poverty of the government itself made this nation a byword in the financial centres of the world. We neither had money nor credit. Both are essential; a nation can get on if it has abundant revenues, but if it has none it must have credit. We had neither, as the legacy of the Democratic revenue tariff. We have both now. We have a surplus revenue and a spotless credit. I need not state what is so fresh in our minds, so recent in our history as to be known to every gentleman who hears me, that from the inauguration of the protective tariff laws of 1861, the old Morrill tariff—which has brought to that veteran statesman the highest honor, and will give to him his proudest monument—this condition changed. Confidence was restored, courage was inspired, the government started upon a progressive era under a system thoroughly American.

With a great war on our hands, with an army to enlist and prepare for service, with untold millions of money to supply, the protective tariff never failed us in a single emergency, and while money was flowing into our treasury to save the government, industries were springing up all over the land—the foundation and corner-stone of our prosperity and glory. With a debt of over \$2,750,000,000 when the war terminated, holding on to our protective laws, against Democratic opposition, we have reduced that debt at an average rate of more than \$62,000,000 each year, \$174,000 every twenty-four hours for the last twenty-five years, and what looked to be a burden almost impossible to bear has been removed, under the Republican fiscal system, until now it is less than \$1,000,000,000, and with the payment of this vast sum of money the nation has not been impoverished. The individual citizen has not been burdened or bankrupted. National and individual prosperity have gone steadily on, until our wealth is so great as to be almost incomprehensible when put into figures.

First, then, to retain our own market, under the Democratic system of raising revenue by removing all protection, would require our producers to sell at as low a price and upon as favorable terms as our foreign competitors. How could that be done?

In one way only—by producing as cheaply as those who would seek our markets. What would that entail? An entire revolution in the methods and condition and conduct of business here, a leveling down through every channel, to the lowest line of our competitors; our habits of living would have to be changed, our wages cut down fifty per cent. more, our comfortable homes exchanged for hovels, our independence yielded up, our citizenship demoralized. These are conditions inseparable to free trade; these would be necessary if we would command our own market among our own people; and if we would invade the world's markets, harsher conditions and greater sacrifices would be demanded of the masses. Talk about depression—we would then have it in its fulness. We would revel in unrestrained trade. Everything would, indeed, be cheap, but how costly when measured by the degradation which would ensue! When merchandise is the cheapest, men are the poorest, and the most distressing experiences in the history of our country—aye, in all human history—have been when everything was the lowest and cheapest, measured by gold, for everything was the highest and the dearest, measured by labor. We want no return of cheap times in our own country. We have no wish to adopt the conditions of other nations. Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours, and for the present and the future, the protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the national design and will work out our destiny better than any other.

With me, this position is a deep conviction, not a theory. I believe in it and thus warmly advocate it because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for manly aspirations, with the largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety and purity and permanency of our political system depend.—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.



THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.



THE war of the United States with Spain in 1898 arose out of Spain's treatment of the people of Cuba. That island lies at the outlet of the Gulf of Mexico close to Florida. It is 760 miles long, with an average breadth of 80 miles, but in some places reaching 135 miles. Its area is 40,000 square miles. When the Spanish-American States achieved their independence about 1821, Cuba might have been set free, had not the United States, in the interest of the Southern slave-holders, discountenanced any effort in that direction. In 1825 the island was formally put under martial law by Spain, and as long as Spanish dominion lasted that could be done at any time. The captain general had power to suspend any law whatever, or to banish any officer whose continuance he deemed injurious. After the Mexican war the Gulf States favored the purchase of Cuba. An insurrection was made in 1851 under General Narciso Lopez, who was captured and executed. The attempt was renewed in 1855, with the expectation of help from the United States, but it failed. The unjustifiable seizure of the American steamer "Black Warrior" at Havana in 1854 caused trouble with the United States, but Spain offered reparation, which was accepted.

In 1868 some Cubans, finding all their petitions for home

rule disregarded, began a new struggle for liberty under Charles M. de Céspedes. A republic was formed. The insurgents could hardly obtain arms, while Spain guarded the coast with thirty light-draft steam gun-boats. The steamer "Virginius," which sailed from New York to convey a supply of arms and ammunition, was captured near Jamaica and taken to Santiago de Cuba. After a summary trial fifty-three of her passengers and crew were put to death. The arrival of a British sloop-of-war prevented further execution. For a time it seemed likely that President Grant would declare war on Spain for the outrage on an American vessel, but her register was found to be fraudulent. The trouble ended with the surrender of the "Virginius," with its surviving passengers and crew, to the United States. The Cuban General Agramonte was killed in 1873, and Céspedes, who had retired from the Presidency, in 1874. The Spanish marshal, Martinez Campos, who had prosecuted a vigorous campaign, forced President Garcia to capitulate in 1878, when the treaty of Zanjón was made. The Spanish losses in the ten years' conflict had exceeded 200,000; the Cubans lost 50,000. The total expenses of the war, amounting to \$300,000,000, were borne by Cuba. During this period the United States government did not feel justified in recognizing officially the revolutionary government, but Peru acknowledged the independence of the island. The proposed Cuban constitution had declared all the inhabitants free, and the Spanish government decreed the freedom of every child born after July 4, 1870. A further law was promulgated in 1880, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery, to be effected in seven years. Cuba was also permitted to send representatives to the Spanish Cortes and granted some measure of local administration. But the resident Spanish were able to exclude native Cubans from all important positions. The press was kept under strict governmental supervision.

The native Cubans still cherished the hope of independence. General Calixto Garcia, who had been engaged in the rebellion, escaped from prison and went to New York in 1880. Here the Cuban Junta was formed to raise funds and watch for opportunities for new resistance. The leaders were

President José Martí, Gonzalo de Quesada and Tomas Estrada Palma. In February, 1895, under their direction, General Maximo Gomez began a new revolution in the eastern part of the island. Sanguily, Garcia and Maceo became prominent as commanders in other places. The declaration of Cuban independence was issued February 24. In spite of the efforts of the United States government, many coasting vessels made trips to Cuba, carrying arms, supplies and filibusters. In 1896 both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives passed resolutions recognizing the Cubans as belligerents, but President Cleveland paid no attention to them. The revolution, however, continued to spread in spite of the frequent reinforcements sent from Spain. Another device to keep back the revolutionists was the guarding of loyal territory with *trochas*, or trenches fenced with barbed wire, across all ways of communication. But Maceo, by the aid of the country people, entered the western province, maintained a considerable force among the hills and kept up a guerilla warfare till his death in 1896.

Both political parties in the United States felt obliged to take notice of the struggle in Cuba. The decline of its trade revealed the desolation of the island. American citizens had been imprisoned and murdered. Claims for their property destroyed had accumulated at Washington. Even President Cleveland finally declared that if peace in Cuba was not restored speedily, the United States might be led to interfere on its own account. Campos had signally failed to check the rebellion. The proud, energetic prime minister, Canovas del Castillo, therefore sent out General Valeriano Weyler, noted as a brave but cruel, unscrupulous warrior in the Philippines. The *pacíficos* or country people had been allowed to cultivate the fields within limited districts; now they were forced back within smaller circles around the towns under control of the Spanish garrisons. No provision was made for the support of these *reconcentrados*, 400,000 in number. They were simply allowed to starve. This policy of extermination was soon published to the world, and Canovas supported it, in spite of protests against its barbarity.

When Canovas was assassinated in August, 1897, the

milder Sagasta became minister. Within six days he recalled Weyler, and sent General Ramon Blanco to Cuba. There had already been some evidence of a disposition on the part of Spain to effect reform in the island, but the Spanish residents and soldiery had neutralized these attempts. Weyler, on his return to Spain, was cheered as a hero. Blanco began by offering the Cubans autonomy, which some natives had formerly requested, but, as put in practice, it was seen by all to be a delusion. Blanco promised relief to the starving reconcentrados, but the only relief furnished was sent by the charitable citizens of the United States. Even this humane aid was resented by the Spanish residents of the island. Reports of defeats of the insurgents and of provinces pacified were still sent out ; but the American newspaper correspondents transmitted far different stories.

As there had been riotous demonstrations in Havana against Americans, the U. S. battleship "Maine" was ordered to Key West, Florida, in December, 1897. Her commander, Captain Charles D. Sigsbee, was instructed to go to Havana whenever Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee should think its presence necessary. In January, 1898, President McKinley decided to send the "Maine" "on a friendly mission" to Havana. The Spanish government in return sent the cruiser "Vizcaya," Captain Eulate, to New York. Captain Sigsbee and the authorities at Havana exchanged the usual calls of ceremony ; but the sailors were not permitted to go ashore. The government and people of the United States were horrified to learn that, at 9.40 P.M. on February 15, 1898, the "Maine" was blown up while moored in Havana harbor to a buoy assigned by the Spanish authorities. The facts show that she was destroyed by a submarine mine, and circumstances indicate that it was exploded by Spanish officers, but that General Blanco had no knowledge of the plot. As the forward part of the vessel was sunk, two officers and 264 of the crew lost their lives. Captain Sigsbee and the other officers being in the after part escaped. Sigsbee immediately telegraphed the fact to Washington, and added, "Public opinion should be suspended until further report."

Spain and other European nations quickly sent messages

of regret and sympathy to the United States. Spanish vessels in the harbor of Havana had given aid to those rescued from the wreck of the "Maine." The bodies recovered were buried with a public funeral, which the Spanish officials attended. The Spaniards attributed the explosion to an internal cause. The U. S. Secretary of the Navy, J. D. Long, appointed a court of inquiry, which examined many witnesses, and reported on March 28th that the keel plates of the "Maine" had been forced upward until they projected out of the water, thus proving that the explosion was external; but the court had no evidence to fix the responsibility. Both nations began making preparations for war, though prominent officials declared a wish for peace. Spain requested the recall of U. S. Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee, and that naval vessels should not be used in sending supplies to Cuba; but President McKinley refused compliance.

On March 9th a bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for national defence was passed unanimously by Congress and signed by the President. When the report of the court of inquiry on the "Maine" was made, President McKinley transmitted it to Madrid, and demanded that reparation should be made. He also demanded the cessation of the war in Cuba, the restoration of the reconcentrados' homes, and the withdrawal of the Spanish forces. Spain refused compliance; but on April 8th the representatives of the great Powers of Europe at Washington personally appealed to the President to use further negotiations for peace. The Pope also urged the Queen Regent of Spain to yield to the demands of the United States. The only result was a brief armistice. President McKinley's message to Congress on April 11th recited the condition of affairs in Cuba, and left the decision of the future course of the nation with that body. The two houses differed about recognizing the independence of Cuba; but on April 19th they adopted a resolution demanding that Spain should at once relinquish the government of Cuba, and withdraw its forces, and that the President should use the land and naval forces of the United States and call out the militia to carry this purpose into effect. Spain thereupon dismissed the United States minister before he could present the resolutions.

Congress decided that the war with Spain began on April 21st. It was expected that the first move of the war would be the capture of Havana. The blockade of that city was begun on April 22d by Captain W. T. Sampson, now appointed Acting Rear-Admiral. Besides the blockading squadron, there was a patrol squadron under Commodore J. A. Howell, at New York, and the flying squadron, under Commodore W. S. Schley, at Hampton Roads. Beyond the Pacific there was also an Asiatic squadron, at Hong Kong, under Commodore George Dewey, destined to win speedy and enviable fame.

Spain had sought for alliances with other European nations, but in vain. Most of them proclaimed neutrality. The Spanish government exerted its utmost strength in building and supplying fleets. There was trouble from the Carlists, who declared that the time had come for the restoration of Don Carlos to the throne. The Queen Regent, Maria Christina, seriously considered the question of leaving Spain and settling in Austria. But for the sake of her son, Alfonso XIII., she stayed. From her private income she contributed liberally to the public treasury for war expenses.

On April 23d, President McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers, apportioned among the States according to population, to serve for two years unless sooner discharged. All commissions were issued by the President. The volunteer forces were to be commanded by volunteer officers exclusively. The regular army was increased to 62,000 men. The entire army was organized in seven corps and a cavalry division. Major-General J. R. Brooke had command of the First Corps in the Department of the Gulf; Major-General W. M. Graham of the Second Corps; Major-General James F. Wade of the Third Corps; Major-General John J. Coppinger of the Fourth; Major-General W. R. Shafter of the Fifth; Major-General J. H. Wilson of the Sixth; Major-General Fitzhugh Lee of the Seventh; Major-General Joseph Wheeler of the Cavalry Division. There was also a Department of the Pacific, in which Major-General Wesley Merritt organized an expedition to the Philippines, with Major-General Elwell S. Otis as second in command. The President appointed eleven major-generals, all but four being promoted from the regular

army, and twenty-six brigadiers also regulars. In May the President called for 75,000 more volunteers. The total force, regular and volunteer, was made 280,000 men.

The most noted regiment was the First Volunteer Cavalry raised by Theodore Roosevelt, who resigned the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and took commission as a lieutenant colonel, while Colonel Leonard Wood, a former army officer, commanded the regiment. It was popularly known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders, and was made up of polo players of Eastern clubs, New York mounted policemen, and ranchmen from the Western plains. Colonel Terry, of Arizona, organized a similar regiment of cowboys and plainsmen.

Lieutenant Rowan landed in Cuba on April 26th, crossed the province of Santiago and found it deserted by the Spaniards. The Cuban General Garcia had occupied Bayamo. He was expected to furnish 8,000 men to assist the Americans as guides and soldiers. The reconcentrados tried to join the insurgents, but only the able-bodied were received. Garcia represented that with arms and supplies from the United States the Cubans could drive out the Spanish troops. Gomez had about 3,500 men. He asked for 40,000 rifles with ammunition and provisions, and promised that if an effective blockade was kept up he would free Cuba without shedding a drop of American blood. Some attempts were made to send from the United States Cuban recruits with rifles and ammunition, but the steamer "Gussie" conveying them found the coast so guarded by Spanish troops that they could not be landed. Gomez had waited two weeks for them, until his men were obliged to kill their horses for food, and then ordered them to disperse. The steamer "Florida" was more successful. The Cuban leaders objected to the sending of American troops.

In May a force of about 7,000 men was collected at Tampa, Florida. It was intended to be sent to Cuba to join Gomez, and establish a base on the coast of Cuba from which the starving people outside of Havana could be relieved. But when it was learned that Admiral Cervera's fleet had moved westward from Cape Verde, all such plans were abandoned. Tampa being overcrowded and having insufficient railroad facilities, the army of invasion was concentrated at Chicka-

mauga, where 45,000 men were assembled. Even here the men suffered from want of supplies and medical aid.

When war was declared the United States had at Key West a large squadron under Captain William T. Sampson. Besides the flagship, the steel-cruiser "New York," there were the battle-ships "Iowa" and "Indiana," seven cruisers, three monitors, a torpedo flotilla, gun-boats and other vessels. The "Oregon" at San Francisco was ordered to join this fleet and set out on a remarkable voyage around Cape Horn. At Hampton Roads there was a flying squadron under Commodore W. S. Schley, whose flagship was the steel-armored cruiser "Brooklyn." It contained also the battle-ships "Massachusetts" and "Texas," two protected cruisers and a ram. The Asiatic squadron at Hong Kong, under Commodore Dewey, comprised the protected cruisers "Olympia," "Baltimore," "Concord," "Petrel" and "Monocacy." The last was unserviceable and was not used. The merchant vessel "Zafiro" was purchased and used for storage. The "Nanshan" also was purchased with 3,300 tons of coal. At San Francisco there were two monitors, two gunboats and a cruiser. Several monitors, training ships and other vessels were held in reserve at ports on the North Atlantic. As additions to the navy 103 vessels were purchased, and four steamers of the International Navigation Company were chartered. Revenue cutters and other vessels were added to the auxiliary fleet. The total effective force was 4 first-class battle ships, 1 second-class, 2 armored cruisers, 6 monitors, 1 ram, 12 protected cruisers, 1 dynamite cruiser, 18 gunboats, 11 torpedo boats. The enlisted force was increased to 24,000 men. The naval militia of the States was employed on the auxiliary navy, which comprised 11 auxiliary cruisers, 28 converted yachts, 19 converted colliers, 15 revenue cutters, and 23 other vessels. The coast batteries were garrisoned by 12,000 infantry and light artillery, chiefly volunteers. In the principal harbors submarine mines were laid.

A Naval War Board was formed at Washington to guide the Navy Department in its preparations and orders. At first it was composed of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt, Captain A. S. Crowninshield and Captain A. S. Barker, but its mem-

bers were soon changed to Captain Crowninshield, Rear-Admiral Sicard and Captain A. T. Mahan. It received all the reports and organized all measures of defense. It established a thorough coast patrol-system of fast cruisers, which served to alleviate the dread felt lest a cruiser might be sent from Spain to attack towns or bombard the cities.

To provide the means for vigorous prosecution of the war Congress passed the War Tax Bill, which was signed by the President on June 13, 1898. By it bonds were to be issued for an amount not exceeding \$400,000,000, and internal taxation was imposed which was estimated to raise \$200,000,000 a year. The bonds are limited to 3 per cent. interest, and are redeemable in coin at the pleasure of the United States ten years after the date of issue, and are payable twenty years after date. They were offered at par as a popular loan, and more than three times the full amount was subscribed for almost immediately.

Neither Spain nor the United States had heretofore accepted the Declaration of Paris (1856) by which the maritime Powers had agreed to discountenance privateering, and had required blockades to be effective in order to be binding. But now the United States Government declared that it would observe those rules. The Spanish Government reserved the right to issue letters of marque when deemed expedient. Most of the foreign Governments except Germany immediately declared neutrality. The British Government declared coal to be contraband of war.

The first great dramatic event of the war was Commodore Dewey's victory in Manila Bay, destroying a Spanish fleet and bringing the remote Philippines within prospective control of the United States. It was astonishing, but not accidental. In the last week of April Commodore Dewey, under orders from Washington, sailed for Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands. The native insurrection which had begun in these islands in 1896 had been partially suppressed, and the leader, Aguinaldo, had gone to Singapore. Nevertheless, new trouble had broken out in March, 1898, and the rebels held the mountains. Captain-General Augustin, on learning that the Americans had set sail for Manila, endeavored to draw the

Filipinos to his side by a proclamation declaring that the Americans would pollute, ravage, and destroy the islands.

Commodore Dewey reached and entered the Bay of Manila on April 30th. At daybreak of May 1st the Spanish squadron of Rear-Admiral Montojo was sighted, under the protecting guns of Cavité. The American fleet moved at once to the attack, and as it passed the city of Manila was assailed by land batteries. But Commodore Dewey forbade a return of the fire that the city might not be injured. Two submarine mines were exploded without doing damage. The ships passed on in order, and at 5.41 A.M. Commodore Dewey gave the order to fire at the Spanish fleet and fortifications. The Spanish guns replied, but without effect. At a distance of 4,000 yards, Dewey's fleet opened with all its guns. The Spaniards made a gallant fight. Four times the American vessels swept the Spanish line at a distance of 4,000 yards, and then ventured within 2,000 yards, causing still greater damage. Three Spanish vessels, including the flagship, were on fire when Dewey withdrew his fleet across the bay at 7.35 A.M. for breakfast. At 11 A.M. he returned and renewed the fight. Within an hour all the Spanish vessels were abandoned, most of them being burnt, but a few prizes were taken in the inner harbor. The Spanish loss was 1,200 killed and wounded, the American one killed and eight wounded. Owing to the proclamation of neutrality by foreign nations, Dewey had now to wait for the arrival of supplies and reinforcements from San Francisco. He had not men to occupy the towns and forts which he captured.

Captain William T. Sampson, commanding the North Atlantic squadron, was made Acting Rear-Admiral, and sent to blockade the north coast of Cuba from Cardenas to Bahia Honda and the port of Cienfuegos on the south. The chief points to be guarded were Havana and Matanzas. Torpedo boats were put in front, then cruisers, and further out battleships. The blockading line in front of Havana extended 120 miles. The blockade of Havana was commenced on April 22nd. General Blanco issued a decree declaring Cuba to be in a state of war, and began to prepare Havana for attack or siege. The defensive force was said to be 100,000 men.

Admiral Sampson restrained his men from firing on the shore until Spanish batteries tried to hit his vessels. On April 27th he ordered a reconnaissance at Matanzas to locate the batteries and prevent the erection of earthworks. The "New York," "Puritan," and "Cincinnati" opened fire on a new battery, and soon sent shells and shot into it. Both sides claimed a victory. General Blanco reported that the only damage done was killing a mule, but there was certainly more. The Spaniards fired only a dozen shots, which did no harm. The Cubans, under General Betancourt, approached the city at this time, but were driven off with a loss of twenty men.

Down to May 9th many prizes were taken, chiefly of merchant and fishing vessels, whose masters had not been aware of the commencement of hostilities. The little "Mangrove," which had been fitted up as a cable boat, seized the mail steamer "Panama," a Spanish auxiliary cruiser. Some British and Norwegian vessels succeeded in running the blockade. From Yucatan, by way of the Isle of Pines, provisions were taken to the south coast and sent by rail to Havana. The blockade was gradually extended to the whole coast of Cuba, but when the larger vessels were engaged at Santiago there was some blockade-running towards the western end. The steamer "Santo Domingo," thus engaged, was driven ashore and burned.

The most formidable fleet which Spain collected was that under Admiral Cervera, at the Cape Verde Islands. It comprised the four cruisers, "Vizcaya," "Almirante Oquendo," "Infanta Maria Teresa," and "Cristobal Colon;" three torpedo-boat destroyers, "Furor," "Pluton," and "Terror;" three torpedo boats, "Ariete," "Azor," and "Rayo;" the transport "Ciudad de Cadiz," and the armed collier "San Francisco." Admiral Villamil had command of the torpedo-boat destroyers. The fleet sailed on April 29th, and their destination was long a matter of speculation. The torpedo boats returned to Spain, but the rest sailed westward, and on May 11th reached Martinique, where the American liner "Harvard" lay. The "Terror" waited near by for the "Harvard," but finally went to San Juan, Porto Rico. The others were

disappointed about meeting colliers, ordered ahead, and soon went to Santiago de Cuba, arriving May 19th.

When Cervera's arrival at Martinique was reported Commodore W. S. Schley was ordered to sail south from Hampton Roads. On reaching Key West on May 18th, he received an order putting him under command of Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson, whom he ranked. This he obeyed, though he filed a protest. Sampson ordered him to proceed with three vessels to Cienfuegos, on the south coast of Cuba. He arrived May 21st, and remained till the 24th, when he was informed that Cervera's fleet was not there. He was now ordered to Santiago, where it was thought that Cervera had sought refuge. On May 26th Schley found the "Minneapolis," "Yale," and "St. Paul" off Santiago, but they could not state positively that Cervera was there. Schley was about to leave for Key West to replenish his coal when orders came for him to remain. Admiral Sampson's fleet was reported under way thither. On May 29th Schley's squadron, led by the "Brooklyn," sailed close in-shore, and the "Cristobal Colon" and "Vizcaya" were observed in the harbor. Commodore Schley cabled to Washington that the Spanish fleet was "bottled up" at Santiago, "and they'll never get out." Admiral Sampson arrived soon after.

Early in May Admiral Sampson led a fleet from Key West, hoping to find and destroy Cervera's squadron. The converted cruisers scouting in the Caribbean Sea found no evidence of the Spanish vessels. On May 12th Sampson approached San Juan, Porto Rico, and made preparations to attack it. Thinking some warships might be there, he arranged his vessels to meet them. The "Iowa" was the flagship, and the "Indiana," "New York," "Amphitrite" and "Terror" followed. At opposite ends the "Detroit" and the "Wampatuck" went ahead to sound until ten fathoms depth should be reached. Should there be no war vessels, the land batteries were to be damaged as much as possible, but the chief purpose was to give the men practice in fighting and marksmanship. The attack began at daybreak and lasted three hours. Thrice the fleet steamed past the forts in an ellipse. Although the American vessels kept at long range

and rolled in a heavy sea, and thick smoke produced by their brown powder interfered with the aim of the gunners, the fortifications were hit several times, and part of them set on fire. The American fleet discharged 400 shots, many of which fell in the harbor. The Spanish gunners were frequently driven from the posts by the fierce storm of missiles, but always returned and resumed their firing, though with little effect. The "Iowa" was struck eight times, but her armor was not pierced. On the American side two were killed and seven wounded. The Spanish loss was eight killed and forty-three wounded, several being civilians. Morro castle and the fort of San Cristobal were damaged, and the cathedral and other buildings in the city were struck.

In June the destroyer "Terror" made a dash out of the harbor, hoping to sink the auxiliary cruiser "St. Paul," which under Captain Sigsbee was steaming along the coast. But she was so badly damaged by the rapid-fire guns that she could hardly get back to port.

General Blanco, at Havana, still kept up telegraphic communication with Madrid. This was found to be a serious hindrance to the operations of the American forces. There were two British lines running to Jamaica, and a French line to Martinique. These the Government was unwilling to cut out at sea, as being neutral property. But it was assumed that the United States had a right in war to cut the cables at the shore. On May 11th the cruiser "St. Louis" and the tug "Wampatuck" attempted this near Santiago, but without success. A week later these vessels approached Guantanamo harbor, flying the Spanish colors, but raised the American flag before attempting hostile action. The Spanish batteries drove off the tug with a heavy fire. The cruiser cut one cable at Santiago.

On May 14th the Spanish vessels at Havana showed considerable activity, partly with a view to draw more of the blockading squadron thither, thus leaving the coast clear for Cervera, and partly to draw American vessels within range.

The torpedo-boats "Winslow" and "Hudson," stationed off Cardenas, endeavored to draw out three Spanish gunboats, but they kept under protection of the land batteries. When

the cruiser "Wilmington" arrived, the American vessels on May 11th ventured into the inner harbor. A strong battery at the water's edge opened upon them. The "Winslow's" steering gear was damaged and her boiler burst by a shell. Her commander, Lieutenant J. B. Bernadou, was wounded, and Ensign Worth Bagley and four men were killed. The "Wilmington" then moved within 1800 yards, and shelled the batteries and town, while the "Hudson" drew the "Winslow" off.

In order to prevent communication with Havana, Commander B. H. McCalla undertook to cut the telegraph cables at Cienfuegos. Three vessels entered the bay, and volunteers were sent out in launches to drag for the cables. The shore batteries drove off the landing party. The vessels shelled the fortifications and silenced their guns. Two out of the three cables were cut, but these were afterwards repaired. The Spanish loss reported was less than that of the Americans.

Commodore Schley had remained at Key West superintending the blockade while Sampson went to San Juan. When the latter returned, Schley steamed on May 20th to Cienfuegos, whither Cervera was supposed to be moving from Curaçao. But on May 21st the Navy Department learned that the Spanish vessels had reached Santiago and Schley was ordered to return cautiously thither, if they were not at Cienfuegos. This was ascertained from Cubans on shore on May 24th, and Schley set out slowly for Santiago and arrived on the 26th. His scouts could get no information of the presence of Cervera's fleet, and as the weather was unfavorable for remaining off the coast and the supply of coal was short, he gave orders to return to Key West. But on the 27th he received a dispatch from Washington, saying that the Navy Department had information that Cervera was at Santiago, and expected Schley to ascertain the fact and prevent the Spaniards leaving. Schley replied that he must get coal and would therefore go to Key West. But on the 28th, the sea having become calmer, the ships were able to take on coal from the colliers. Schley then returned forty-eight miles and lay off Santiago. On the next morning, his officers, approaching the harbor entrance, discovered a vessel believed

to be the "Christobal Colon," two vessels of the "Vizcaya" class and a torpedo-boat.

On May 31st the American squadron formed in battle line outside, while the smaller vessels approached the shore and engaged the shore batteries and the ships near the entrance. By this reconnaissance Schley was assured that part of Cervera's fleet was present, but it was not known that the whole fleet was bottled up until Lieutenant Victor Blue on June 11th passed on land completely around the harbor and identified the several ships. Admiral Sampson arrived on June 1st. He had already decided to stop the mouth of the harbor by sinking a collier at the narrowest part of the channel. This gave occasion for Lieutenant Hobson's famous exploit.

Richmond Pearson Hobson, assistant naval constructor, was requested by Admiral Sampson to prepare a plan for taking the steam collier "Merrimac" into the narrow entrance of the harbor of Santiago, and sinking it so as to obstruct the harbor. The plan being approved and a crew of seven volunteers accepted, Lieutenant Hobson endeavored to get the "Merrimac" ready for its work on the night of June 2d. It was surrounded with torpedoes so wired and connected that they could be fired simultaneously. The men lay flat on the deck while the vessel was guided into the dark channel about 3 A. M., June 3rd. It was the intention when she reached the proper spot to lay her athwart the channel and fire the torpedoes while the men should endeavor to escape on a raft. Though every precaution had been taken, some alarm was given and the shore batteries discharged their guns in a steady storm. A picket-boat fired at the "Merrimac's" stern and her rudder was shot away, so that she did not obey her helm in turning. Several of the torpedoes also were struck off, but enough remained to sink the vessel when fired. The hulk did not, however, completely block the channel. The men got safely on the raft and remained until the enemy's picket-boats came near with lanterns. Then they were captured and taken on shore.

Admiral Cervera, admiring their daring, visited the men in prison. He sent word of their capture to Admiral Sampson, and said: "Your boys will be all right in our hands.

Daring like theirs makes the bitterest enemy proud that his fellow-men can be such heroes. They were taken afterwards to the city of Santiago, and then to the Morro, where they are our prisoners, but our friends. Everything is being done to make their stay with us comfortable. If you wish to send them anything, we will cheerfully take it to them."

The bottling up of Cervera's fleet, especially after Hobson's exploit was supposed to have rendered their escape impossible, turned the attention of the American military authorities to Santiago. Here the Spanish were considered to be weak, while the insurgents were thought strong; here also the fleet could co-operate with the land forces. When Cervera's squadron should be destroyed the fleet could assist at any point of the coast selected for attack or landing. Guantanamo bay was taken on June 10th for a naval station, where the fleet could coal in any weather and small vessels could lie in safety. The "Marblehead" and "Yankee" attacked the block-house and village at the mouth of the outer bay. The "Alfonso Pinzon" came forward and fired on the American vessels, and was with difficulty forced to retire behind the fort. The marines then landed, and occupied the hill at the entrance of the outer bay. The Spanish infantry, who had fled precipitately, came back in the evening and renewed the fight. During the night they charged up the hill to the edge of the camp. But in the morning they were driven off by shells. The earthworks they had erected were strengthened and enlarged by the Americans, who were still annoyed by the fire of the guerrillas. Cubans came to the aid of the Americans, and led them through the hills to the camp of the Spaniards, who were now routed. The Americans had lost 6 killed and 3 wounded, while the Spaniards had over 40 killed.

The expedition which was organized at Tampa, Florida, was placed under the command of Major General William R. Shafter. It comprised 819 officers and 15,058 men. It sailed on June 14th in a fleet of 37 transports convoyed by about a dozen war vessels. When it arrived off Santiago a week later General Shafter and Admiral Sampson went ashore fifteen miles west of Santiago to consult with the Cuban General

Garcia at Acerraderos. The Spanish forces, about 30,000 in all, were stretched over 50 miles from Guantanamo to Cabanas. They were much harassed by the Cubans, and suffered from want of provisions, but could readily concentrate at any point of attack. Garcia's force was but 3,500 men, ill fed and clothed, and only partly armed. There were, however, 1,000 more assisting the Americans at Guantanamo.

When Garcia offered the services of his followers, General Shafter said that he would exercise no military control over them, but such as Garcia would concede, but would furnish them rations and ammunition while serving with him. It was decided after discussion that Shafter should land his troops at once and push towards Santiago.

On June 22d the first landing was made at Daiquiri, the shipping point of some neighboring mines. The facilities for landing were deficient, as two lighters had been lost on the voyage around the east end of Cuba. The Spaniards were held in check by the Cubans, and by the shelling of the hills from the vessels. Six thousand men got ashore, and on the next day 6,000 more. Major General Joseph Wheeler conducted operations on shore, while General Shafter superintended the disembarkation. Major General H. W. Lawton advanced near the shore towards Siboney, which was shelled by the naval force. The Spaniards driven out halted two miles off on the road to Santiago. General Lawton's headquarters were near the steep rise of ground called Altares. His division was assigned to lead the advance. Major General Wheeler, who had landed at Siboney, nearer Santiago, was the ranking officer on shore. His encampment was two miles behind; but early on Friday, June 24th, the First Volunteer Cavalry, popularly known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders, commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, reached Altares by a slender track from Siboney. Laden with full marching equipments, they toiled up the steep narrow trail which led to the Grand Mesa, or table-land, surrounding Santiago. They were surprised by an attack at Sevilla before they had got clear of the jungle. This was made by the Spanish troops who had been ordered back from Siboney when the Americans landed. The Rough Riders lost some brave men, among them Ham-

ilton Fish, grandson of the statesman of the same name, who had been President Grant's Secretary of State. The Rough Riders pushed on, and the Spaniards withdrew. The Tenth Cavalry, composed of colored troops, were also climbing up to Altares. The Seventy-first New York Volunteers, who had just come off a transport vessel, reached the same ascent by the main road. The different commands were in each other's way on the narrow road, and were exposed to a severe fire as they were huddled together, especially when a balloon sent up served to indicate their exact position to the gunners at Fort San Juan. At this critical juncture the boldest course seemed to be the wisest and best—to climb the dangerous height and drive the Spaniards from their guns. Although it involved heavy loss of life, this charge was ordered and gallantly responded to by the determined men of General Kent's division. In spite of the stout defence of the Spaniards, the Americans swarmed up the hill and into the fort, accomplishing what had been pronounced impossible by masters of the art of war—the capture of a well-constructed fortification by infantry alone.

Captain General Blanco at Havana was the commander-in-chief of all the forces in Cuba, and Admiral Cervera had been directed to put himself under his orders on reaching that island. Blanco now recognized the capture of Santiago as inevitable, and wished to save at least part of Cervera's fleet for further operations. Therefore he sent orders to the Admiral to leave Santiago, and though Cervera declared that this would cause the destruction or capture of the squadron, repeated his orders. The Admiral obeyed and made the best arrangements he could for escape of some vessels from their dreadful predicament. When the bold and well-planned attempt ended in the total destruction of the fleet, the Spanish garrison could no longer hold Santiago.

The Spanish government in its conduct of the war had to consider the people at home as well as affairs abroad. Those who favored the claims of Don Carlos as the legitimate king charged the government with not sufficiently maintaining the national honor. The disasters in the Philippines had increased the unrest at home. The government had built

great hopes on Admiral Cervera's fleet, but when he took refuge in Santiago harbor it was correspondingly disappointed. It therefore sent instructions to General Blanco at Havana to order Cervera to make a dash out of his hiding-place. The Admiral protested that nothing but certain defeat awaited such an attempt, but the orders were repeated, and the brave commander obeyed.

He had intended to move out in the darkness after midnight of July 2d, but it happened that the Cubans finding six Spanish block-houses along the shore deserted set them on fire. The flames seen in different directions were thought by the Spaniards at Santiago to be signals to the fleet and seemed to indicate that Cervera's purpose had been discovered. The movement was therefore delayed for some time. But early on Sunday morning, July 3d, the Spanish fleet steamed out at full speed in line, the "Infanta Maria Teresa" leading. Admiral Sampson had gone in the "New York" down the coast toward Aguadores, and was too far off to reach the scene until the destruction of the enemy's fleet was almost complete. The command devolved on Commodore Schley of the "Brooklyn." The American vessels lay off the harbor at distances ranging from 4000 to 6000 yards. At 9.30 A.M. the Spanish movement was noticed first by the "Iowa," then by the "Brooklyn." At once the signal was given, "Clear ships for action!" In half a minute a rapid-fire gun was discharged; in two minutes every gun on the "Iowa" was ready. Every vessel was rushing in-shore to its station assigned long before for such an emergency. The "Brooklyn" rushed to head off the "Infanta Maria Teresa" as it cleared the harbor's mouth, and the "Massachusetts" and "Oregon" followed close. The battleships "Indiana," "Iowa" and "Texas," with the little "Gloucester," engaged the later Spanish vessels. In fifteen minutes the four armored cruisers had come out, and soon after the torpedo-boat destroyers were in the fight. The Americans rained shells upon the enemy as they flew westward, and the Spaniards replied with their batteries. A well-aimed shot from the "Oregon," striking one of the cruisers, set it on fire. The "Iowa" with a 12-inch projectile caused an explosion on the "In-

santa Maria Teresa." Cervera at once headed his doomed vessel for the beach, and the survivors tried to reach the shore. In half an hour two Spanish vessels were wrecked, and the Admiral was captured with many of his men. The "Iowa" hastening to join the "Oregon" and "Brooklyn" in the chase of the "Cristobal Colon," approached the "Vizcaya." The latter already in flames turned toward the shore at Acerraderos. Seeing the "Iowa" about to give her a broadside, the "Vizcaya" surrendered. The "Iowa" then sent out boats which rescued about 250 of the Spanish crew, who were well treated when brought on board the "Iowa." The Spanish commander, Captain Eulate, had been a guest of honor at New York, in January. Now wounded, he was carried on the "Iowa" and presented his sword to Captain Robley D. Evans, known as "Fighting Bob," but the latter declined to receive it.

The torpedo-boat destroyers "Furor" and "Pluton" were the last to emerge from the harbor. As they rushed along the shore the "Indiana" and "Iowa" sent shells after them. Then the "Gloucester," commanded by Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright, who had been executive officer of the "Maine," poured rapid-fire projectiles on the destroyers until they ran ashore, completely disabled.

The "Cristobal Colon" seemed most likely to escape after having made a running fight against the "Brooklyn" and other ships. When her consort, the "Vizcaya," surrendered, the "Colon" kept on close by the shore. The "Oregon" led the chase, while the "Brooklyn" and "Texas," and afterwards the flag-ship "New York," came up. The "Oregon" and "Brooklyn" had already reached the "Colon" with projectiles, and were getting better range, when the captain of the "Colon," at 1.15 P.M., struck his flag and ran his vessel ashore fifty miles west of Santiago. The spirit of the Americans in this remarkable battle was shown by Captain Philip, of the "Texas," who said quietly to his crew when they saw the cruisers wrecked: "Don't cheer, boys; the poor fellows are dying."

When the total destruction of the Spanish fleet is considered, it is almost incredible that the American loss was

one man killed and one wounded. Of the Spaniards more than 600 were killed, and more than 1300 taken prisoners, among them Admiral Cervera. Admiral Villamil, who commanded the torpedo flotilla, was killed. The captain of the "Almirante Oquendo" committed suicide when he saw his vessel destroyed. Admiral Cervera, being permitted to send a report to General Blanco, praised the bravery of his men, adding: "We have lost all save honor." Blanco issued an address in which he extolled superlatively the heroism of the fleet, and declared that "It gloriously succumbed, fighting against an American force twice its superior."

On July 3d General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago. General Toral, then the Spanish commander, refused to surrender. The foreign consuls requested a delay of the threatened bombardment until foreign residents could be removed. On July 9th the demand for surrender was renewed, but Toral replied that he had no authority to capitulate. On the 11th the American army and fleet opened fire on the city, but did little damage. On the 12th the demand was repeated, and again refused. Yellow fever had appeared in General Shafter's army, and delay was dangerous. The soldiers, owing to the breaking down of the commissary department under the sudden stupendous demands upon it, were suffering for want of proper food.

Major-General Miles, commanding general of the army, was sent to Cuba. On arriving he urged a meeting with General Toral between the lines. This was arranged, and Toral agreed to surrender the city and all his troops in eastern Cuba on the condition that they be returned to Spain. The surrender took place on July 17th, when the roster showed 22,789 men. To these some thousands were added from garrisons later. The United States contracted with a Spanish company for their transportation. On the day of the surrender Generals Shafter and Toral rode into the city together, and in the governor's palace the formal transfer of the city was made. The Cuban General Garcia was offended at not being invited to participate, as he said had been promised. But as the Cubans had not prevented reinforcements being sent into the city, General Shafter considered them delinquent. Garcia,

therefore, resigned his command, and withdrew from Santiago until after Shafter had returned to the United States. General Leonard Wood, who had been colonel of the Rough Riders, was made governor of the city, and immediately began to improve its sanitary condition. By conciliating the Cubans he soon became popular, and trade began to flourish. He was then made governor of the district. In the Spanish and American camps the soldiers, now condemned to inactivity, became the victims of malarial, typhoid, and yellow fevers. The condition grew so alarming that the American officers united in a round-robin to General Shafter, protesting against the unacclimated men being kept exposed to these dangers. Measures were taken for their return to the United States, but before any were removed hundreds had perished from disease. Even then several of the transports were not properly furnished with supplies, and further suffering ensued on them and in new camps in the United States. To fill the place of those removed, several regiments of immunes—men supposed to be proof against the perils of the Cuban climate—were enlisted and sent to Santiago. Even among these sickness was prevalent and the death-rate high.

Before General Toral had surrendered, General Miles had sailed for Porto Rico, with about 3,500 men from Santiago. There were also about 15,000 men who were to sail from Tampa and Newport News. It had been announced that General Miles would land at Fajardo on the north coast, but he went to Guanica on the south coast, landing on July 26th. There was virtually no resistance and the American flag was raised amid the cheers of the people. General Miles issued a proclamation assuring the inhabitants of the good will of the invaders. Ponce, the second largest city on the island, surrendered two days later, and Yauco welcomed the Yankees. At some places the troops moving towards San Juan encountered light resistance from Spanish troops. When at last there seemed to be prospect of a stronger fight, the soldiers were astonished by the arrival of a messenger, announcing the signing of the peace protocol and the consequent truce.

When the War Board at Madrid learned that Admiral Dewey remained in Manila Bay, and was disappointed that

Admiral Cervera was bottled up in Santiago harbor, it planned a singular counter move, perhaps hoping that Dewey could be defeated or at least that part of the blockading fleet at Santiago could be drawn off. This move was to send a fleet from Spain to the Philippines under Admiral Camara. It contained the battle-ship "Pelayo," the armored cruiser "Carlos V.," and eight other war vessels of less account. But the Naval War Board at Washington promptly prepared an expedition against Spain itself commanded by Commodore Watson. This expedition contained some of the strongest and swiftest battle-ships and cruisers. Admiral Camara, on reaching Port Said, delayed for some days on the plea of making repairs. Yet he paid the expensive canal dues and went to Suez. Here he received orders to return to Spain, the authorities being evidently alarmed at the active preparations for sending out Watson's fleet. The Spanish ships came back in melancholy guise, just when General Toral's surrender at Santiago was added to the destruction of Cervera's squadron. There were indications that the Spanish people were ready to sue for peace. The Pope endeavored to secure a truce between the belligerents, but was not successful.

On July 26th M. Jules Cambon, the French minister at Washington, in an interview with President McKinley, took the first step towards the negotiation of peace. After the usual formalities, a protocol was agreed upon on August 7th. By it Spain was required to relinquish the sovereignty of Cuba and evacuate the island; to cede Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies to the United States; to cede an island in the Ladrones; to leave Manila and its bay in possession of the United States until the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should determine the control and government of the Philippines.

The plenipotentiaries whom the President sent as his representatives to Paris to negotiate the treaty of peace were William R. Day, who had been Secretary of State, Senators Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye and George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid, who had formerly been Ambassador to France. The Spanish plenipotentiaries were Don Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Senate; Senator Don Buena-

ventura de Abarzuza, Don José de Garnica, deputy of the Cortes and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Don Wenceslas Ramirez de Villa Urrutia, Minister to Belgium, and Don Rafael Cerrero, General of division.

When the diplomatists met at Paris, Montero Rios, for the Spaniards, required as a necessary preliminary, that the American forces be withdrawn from the Philippines. But this was firmly resisted by the American negotiators. Then he insisted that the United States by succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain in Cuba had become responsible for the debt which Spain had imposed on the island for the expenses incurred in suppressing rebellion. This amounted to \$200,000,000. This demand was rejected by the Americans. President McKinley had desired to retain only the island of Luzon in the Philippines, but there was in the United States a popular craving for the whole archipelago. The American diplomatists were then instructed to demand the cession of the Philippines. The Spanish commissioners threatened more than once to break off the negotiations, but finally they consented to relinquish the islands on payment of a sum for the expenditures of Spain in maintaining them.

The Treaty of Paris was signed December 10, 1898. By it Spain relinquished her sovereignty over Cuba, which was to pass under the protection of the United States. Spain ceded to the United States Porto Rico and some small islands in the West Indies, the island of Guam in the Ladrões, and the Philippine islands, for which the United States agreed to pay \$20,000,000 within three months after the ratification of peace. The consent of two-thirds of the United States Senate was necessary to this ratification, and considerable opposition was developed to the acquisition of territory so remote, of such uncertain value, and involving responsibilities of an entirely new kind. The favorable vote seems only to have been secured by the fact that on February 5, 1899, the Filipinos around Manila, wishing to capture the city, attacked the American troops. Then the Senate, on February 6th, ratified the treaty by a vote of 57 to 27, just one above the necessary two-thirds.

From the signing of the protocol in August hostilities had ceased. Many of the troops had been brought back from

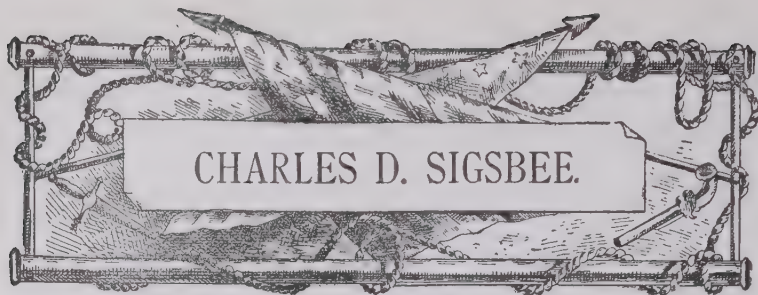
Cuba for the benefit of a northern climate, their places being taken by others who were supposed to be immune from tropical diseases. The complaints of the inefficiency and mismanagement of the War Department, especially in the medical and commissary departments, steadily increased. Loud demands were made in the press for the removal of General Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War. In consequence of these complaints, President McKinley in September appointed a committee of nine eminent citizens, some of whom were generals, to investigate the conduct of the War Department. General G. M. Dodge was chosen chairman by the committee. It visited various parts of the country and examined many witnesses in regard to the transportation, equipment, medical administration, hospital accommodations, supply of food, and other matters pertaining to the efficiency of the army.

A military court was appointed to investigate charges made by Major-General Miles that the beef supplied to the troops was unfit for use. Its report was published May 7, 1899. It found that the refrigerated beef was not treated with chemicals or "embalmed," but pronounced the canned roast beef not fit for a continuous ration, nor to be used without cooking. It found that the illness of the troops was due chiefly to the change of climate, exposure and bad water. It found that the occasional spoiling of beef was due to the tropical heat. The beef was not thoroughly inspected. The court blamed General Miles for not making complaint to the Secretary of War as soon as he learned that some of the beef was unfit, so that a remedy might be applied. It censured General Shafter for remissness in not having a refrigerator landed at Santiago in July. It censured Commissary General Eagan for enormous purchases of canned roast beef, whose value as a field ration was unknown. Failure to provide the necessary transportation and facilities was also criticized. The court recommended that no proceedings be taken against the officers censured.

The United States government quickly and easily assumed its full duty in regulating the affairs of Porto Rico. A more difficult task was found in Cuba, where an independent Republic had a nominal existence. It was found necessary to

disregard its officials and to place public affairs under a temporary military control. Great improvements were made and effected in administration under the remarkably able direction of General Leonard Wood who was soon appointed Governor. The revenues were found more than sufficient to defray all expenses and provide the conveniences of modern civilization. Under the direction of General Wood, an election was held, resulting in the choice of General Estrada Palma as President, and on the 20th of May, 1902, the United States officials formally gave over the government of Cuba to the native administration, and left the island.

The most difficult problem left by the war was in the Philippines. The United States generously purchased the Spanish title, but the Tagal insurgents immediately began hostilities against the Americans. President McKinley declared that the Philippines had been providentially committed to the care of the United States, and that the American people accepted the trust, in full confidence that the wisdom which has directed their past would enable them to discharge their duty in their new responsibilities. After many weary months of desultory warfare, during which a civil administration was set up under Governor Taft, and a fine educational beginning made by a large force of American teachers, the capture of Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader, brought affairs to a climax. The proclamation of general amnesty was soon made possible, and such a document was sent forth by President Roosevelt, and went into effect July 4, 1902.



IN the deplorable calamity of the destruction of the battleship "Maine," the calm courage of her commander stood forth pre-eminent. Charles D. Sigsbee was born in New York city in 1842. He entered the Naval Academy in 1859 and was made ensign in October, 1863. He served on the steam sloop "Monongahela" in the West Gulf blockading squadron. In Farragut's great battle of Mobile bay, August 5, 1864, Sigsbee was on the "Brooklyn." Afterwards he was attached to the North Atlantic Squadron, and in 1865 took part in the attacks on Fort Fisher, North Carolina, and in the final assault. After the Civil War he served on the Asiatic Squadron, becoming master in May, 1866, lieutenant in February, 1867, and lieutenant-commander in March, 1868. He was an instructor at the Naval Academy for two years, then spent two years on the North Atlantic Station, two years in the hydrographic office and four in the coast survey, commanding the steamer "Blake." In 1878 Sigsbee returned to the hydrographic office and spent four years. Again he was at the Naval Academy, and for two summers commanded the practice-ship "Constellation," and afterwards the "Kearsarge" on the European Station. In 1887 he returned again to the Naval Academy, where he spent four years, commanding the practice and training ships in the summers. From 1893 to 1897 he was again in the hydrographic office. Being made captain in March, 1897, he was appointed to command the battleship "Maine."

When war with Spain became imminent, Captain Sigsbee received orders to proceed with his ship from Norfolk to Key West and thence to Havana. This was ostensibly a friendly visit, yet it was felt on both sides to be a preliminary to war.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE.

In January, 1898, the Atlantic squadron of the United States navy made its headquarters at the Dry Tortugas, off the coast of Florida, and within six hours' sail of Havana. This was done because Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee reported that the offer of the United States to give charitable relief to the starving *reconcentrados* had provoked riots in that city, and that American interests there needed protection. On January 25th the battleship "Maine," which under the command of Captain Charles D. Sigsbee had been at Key West for a month, was sent to the harbor of Havana on a friendly visit with the consent of the Spanish Government. In return that Government proposed to send the armored cruiser "Vizcaya" to New York. When the "Maine" arrived in Havana harbor she was conducted by the Spanish pilot to buoy No. 4, in about six fathoms of water. The customary salutes and ceremonial visits were made. She continued in the harbor for three weeks, but the American seamen were not permitted to go ashore. Consul General Lee reported that her visit had a beneficial effect in restoring friendly feelings.

But on the 15th of February the ship was destroyed by an explosion at 9.40 P.M., which utterly wrecked the forward part. In this terrible catastrophe two officers and 264 men of the crew perished. Those who were not killed outright by the explosion were penned between the decks and drowned by the immediate sinking of the hull. Captain Sigsbee and other officers occupied the after part of the vessel, which remained above water. Prompt assistance was rendered by the neighboring vessels in the harbor, especially by the boats of the Spanish cruiser "Alphonso XII." and the steamer "City of Washington." The wounded were generously cared for by the authorities of Havana, the hospitals being freely opened to them. The earliest recovered bodies of the dead were buried by the municipality in a public cemetery in the city. Captain-General Blanco and other officials promptly tendered their tributes of grief and sympathy and attended the funeral of the victims. The Government at Madrid also testified its regret.

Captain Sigsbee immediately reported the disaster to the Navy Department at Washington, but at the same time, with admirable prudence, requested a suspension of judgment by the American people. The appalling calamity fell with crushing force on the public, but admirable self-control was manifested. Although there

was a general belief that the result was due to a treacherous act, Congress and the people waited for the investigation made by the board of inquiry which was at once appointed by Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard at the direction of the Navy Department. The court was composed of Captain William T. Sampson, commanding the battle-ship "Iowa;" Captain Francis E. Chadwick, commanding the cruiser "New York;" Lieutenant Commander W. P. Potter, executive officer of the "New York." Lieutenant Commander Adolph Marix was made judge advocate of the court.

The court held sessions at Key West and in Havana on twenty-three days and examined many witnesses. It concluded its work on March 21st, and its report reached the President the next day. It was communicated to Congress on March 28th, and then published. It then appeared that testimony had been given by all the surviving officers of the "Maine," by experts and divers who had been hired to examine the wreck, and by persons who had knowledge of affairs in Havana. It appeared that Captain Sigbee had received before the disaster a printed circular denouncing the Americans and their rotten squadron; and on the margin was written, "Look out for your ship." The court found that the discipline on board the ship was excellent, and that everything on board had been stowed according to orders. There had been two explosions with a very short interval between them. The important question whether the explosion came from an outside source was settled by the testimony of Ensign Powelson, a naval constructor, who discovered that the keel plates of the "Maine" had been forced upward until they projected out of the water. It was also found that the excelsior which formed the packing of the forward magazine of the ship was not even charred. The conclusion was therefore irresistible that the explosion was due to a submarine mine. The explosion of this mine caused the explosion of two magazines in the ship. But the court declared that it could not find evidence to fix the responsibility.

This cautious conservative report did not fully meet the feeling of the American people. They were sure that there were no mines in Havana except those planted and controlled by Spanish officers. They believed that it was impossible for a mine of such power as to wreck a battle-ship to have been operated without the knowledge of some of those officers. President McKinley showed a similar conservative spirit in his message to Congress. It was listened to with ominous silence, but after adjournment many members criticised it severely. But in both parties there were

conservatives who approved its tone and hoped that Spain would make full reparation for the loss of the "Maine" as well as for the wrong-doing in Cuba.

But Spain refused either indemnity or apology for the loss of the "Maine," declaring that its court of inquiry had found that the explosion was most probably internal. The Spanish minister insisted that the only question in dispute was in regard to the treatment of the inhabitants of Cuba, and claimed to be acting most humanely towards them. Such a reply poured oil on the smouldering fire of resentment in Congress. "Remember the 'Maine'" had already become a common cry among the people. It was taken up by Congress, and both Houses on April 20th passed resolutions declaring that Cuba was and of right should be independent and that the President of the United States should use all the land and naval forces at his disposal to accomplish this result. War immediately followed with the battle cry "Remember the 'Maine'" echoed in the distant Philippines as on the shores of Cuba.





GEORGE DEWEY.



AT Manila Bay, in Luzon, the largest of the Philippine Islands, occurred on the 1st of May, 1898, a naval battle, which not only was a signal triumph for the American navy, but has had a far-reaching effect on the entire policy of the United States. A well-equipped Spanish fleet, protected by forts and land-batteries, was completely destroyed by an American squadron without the loss of a man. The result put the city of Manila at the mercy of the conquerors, and prepared the way for the removal of the archipelago of the Philippines, with their population of eight million Malays, from the dominion of Spain. The momentous victory was achieved by Commodore George Dewey, in command of the Asiatic Station. For it Congress awarded him the rank of Admiral, vacant since the death of Commodore Porter.

George Dewey, the hero of Manila, was born at Montpelier, Vermont, on the 26th of December, 1837. He was the son of Dr. Julius Yemans Dewey, a distinguished physician, who had founded Christ Church in that city, and was descended from Thomas Dewey, one of the Puritan settlers of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1630. The family motto is "*Corona Veniet Delectis*" (The crown shall come to the chosen). When George was but five years old his mother died. He was a shy, quiet boy, noted for his carefulness in dress rather than fondness for study. The chief incident in his school career was when he joined with some other boys in endeavoring to thrash the master, Z. K. Pangborn, but was deserted by his fellows and bore the brunt of punishment himself. This discipline he afterwards declared made a man of him. Pangborn became a major in the Union army, and



THE BATTLE OF MANILA.

Illustration by J. M. W. Turner

eventually a successful journalist. From Pangborn's teaching Dewey passed in his fifteenth year to the Norwich Military Academy, and in 1854 to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, having been appointed by Senator Foote of Vermont. In 1858 he ranked No. 5 in a class of sixteen, but his final examination for commission as ensign gave him the rating of No. 3. On the outbreak of the Civil War Dewey was commissioned lieutenant, April 18, 1861. He was assigned to the steam sloop "Mississippi" in the West Gulf Squadron under Captain Farragut. In 1862 Dewey accompanied that commander in sailing his fleet of wooden vessels past Forts Philip and Jackson to the capture of New Orleans. The dangerous feat was successfully performed, though the vessels passed so close to the forts that the combatants could hear the enemy's voices. In March, 1863, the fleet attempted to run by the Confederate batteries at Port Hudson, but the "Mississippi" ran aground at the middle of the line of fortifications. In half an hour 250 shots struck the vessel, and she was riddled from end to end. Her crew, having set her on fire, took to the boats and landed on the opposite shore. Then the blazing vessel drifted off down the river until the fire reached her magazines and she was destroyed by the explosion. Lieutenant Dewey, after helping a wounded sailor to the shore, returned to the vessel, and was the last man to leave it. For his bravery Farragut recommended him for promotion. Dewey was also in a gun-boat fight at Donaldsonville, Louisiana. In 1864 and 1865 he was attached to the steam gun-boat "Agawam," of the North Atlantic blockading squadron, and took part in the assault on Fort Fisher, North Carolina. He was now a lieutenant-commander, and as such served on the "Colorado," the flagship of the European squadron. His first command was of the "Narragansett," in 1870, and he was engaged in surveys in the Pacific until 1876. Then some years were passed in lighthouse inspection and as Secretary of the Lighthouse Board.

Dewey's first service on the Asiatic Station was in 1882, when he commanded the "Juniata." In September, 1884, being made captain, he was put in charge of the "Dolphin,"

built by John Roach as the first vessel of the new armored navy. After a year he was transferred to the command of the "Pensacola," the flagship of the European Squadron. In 1888 he was recalled to shore duty at Washington, and in February, 1896, was made commodore. His health had been somewhat impaired in 1897, but it was not owing to this circumstance that in January, 1898, he was placed in command of the Asiatic squadron. War with Spain was then threatening, and although the important conflicts were expected to be in the Atlantic waters, Dewey was regarded as a man of the highest courage and skill, who could be trusted with the responsibilities of the distant Asiatic Station. Hence the veteran was sent to the Pacific Squadron. Commodore Dewey raised his flag on the protected cruiser "Olympia," then stationed at Hong Kong, China. Near the end of April came the declaration of war between Spain and the United States. Then Secretary Long of the Navy cabled to him, "Destroy or capture the Spanish fleet at Manila." Great Britain issued a proclamation of neutrality, which forced Dewey to leave Hong Kong within twenty-four hours. He withdrew to Mirs Bay, a few miles off, where he stayed two days, fitting his ships, giving them a coat of dark war-paint, and otherwise preparing for action.

The American fleet, consisting of four large protected cruisers, two small armed cruisers, and two light cutters, sailed for the Philippines, arriving off Subig bay, a little north of Manila, on Saturday evening, April 30th. A little after midnight a Spanish shell from a shore battery burst near the "Olympia," and Commodore Dewey started for Admiral Montojo's fleet, eight miles off. The squadron moved at slow speed up the bay, the flagship leading. The battle-cry, "Remember the Maine," was shouted from every vessel in the line. The squadron arrived off Manila at daybreak, when the Spanish batteries and fleet opened fire. The American squadron soon responded, and moving parallel to the Spanish line, maintained a continuous fire. Two mines were exploded without effect and torpedo-boats were sunk or disabled. The Spanish flag-ship advanced to close range, but was received with such a galling fire from the "Olympia" that she was com-

pelled to retire for shelter and soon sank. These batteries at Manila kept up a vigorous fire until Commodore Dewey notified the Governor-General that if they did not cease he would shell the city. This warning had immediate effect. At 7.35 A.M. Commodore Dewey withdrew his squadron for breakfast, though officers and men were eager to continue the fight. When they returned at 11 almost all the Spanish vessels were in flames. At 12.30 the ships were all sunk, burned and deserted, and the American squadron, having ceased firing, anchored off Manila. The Spanish fleet was completely destroyed, and their loss in killed and wounded was about 1,000, including two commanders. The American squadron was but slightly damaged; it had no man killed and but seven wounded. Captain A. T. Mahan, the eminent naval strategist, has said of this remarkable battle: "It was a grand victory, and will go down into history as the greatest naval battle on record. We did not lose a man, and wiped out the entire Spanish fleet. It has demonstrated the great value of our guns. It has fully proved the excellent judgment displayed by our naval constructors in putting into service the armored vessels, which have fully shown their utility in battle. The result of this engagement plainly indicates that a cool-headed commander who gets into the fight first and proceeds to business has the best of the battle from the start. Commodore Dewey was backed up by well-trained and brave crews."

After this victory Dewey, not being allowed by the Spanish Governor General to send a cablegram to Washington, cut the cable connecting Manila with Hong Kong. He also destroyed the fortifications at the entrance of the bay and contented himself with holding Cavite as a naval station. Its Spanish garrison was paroled. Dewey might have bombarded Manila and forced Governor-General Augustin to surrender, but he allowed him to escape in a German vessel to Hong Kong. The fleet had no men to spare to occupy captured places. It was fully occupied in maintaining an efficient blockade. Aguinaldo, the former leader of the Filipino insurgents, was permitted to return from exile and even to bring arms and ammunition for his followers. He soon gained possession of the province of Cavite and hemmed in the Span-

iards in Manila from the land side, while Dewey maintained a strict blockade in the harbor. Foreign war-vessels, especially the German, kept strict watch on the effectiveness of the blockade.

On the 7th of May President McKinley sent congratulations to Dewey, who was appointed Acting Rear Admiral. The President also sent a message to Congress announcing the naval victory and commending Dewey, whose appointment was promptly confirmed. A new military department of the Pacific was created on May 16th, and General Wesley Merritt assigned to its command. On June 20th the first section of the expedition arrived at Cavite. During July other sections came, and the American soldiers advanced around the bay towards Manila.

In July Aguinaldo informed Admiral Dewey that his troops had taken all of Subig bay except Isla Grande, from which he was shut out by the German man-of-war "Irene." On July 7th Admiral Dewey sent the "Raleigh" and "Concord" there. They captured the island and 1,300 men with arms and ammunition. The "Irene" retired from the bay on their arrival. In course of the negotiation with the Germans, Dewey, becoming somewhat indignant, said to their flag-lieutenant, "Can it be possible that your nation means war with mine? If so, we can begin it in five minutes." This warning proved sufficient. The German Admiral Diederichs opened a correspondence with Dewey about the affair, and endeavored to show that there was no intentional interference with American rights. Soon afterwards Prince Henry, brother of the German Emperor, appeared in the vicinity, and exchanged courtesies with Admiral Dewey. The English commander showed sympathy with the Americans. British war vessels coming in saluted Dewey's flag, and he was careful to return the salute.

While the Spaniards still retained possession of Manila, Dewey put his flagship on the Manila side of the bay, as the more dangerous station if the fort should open fire. The nearest vessel was a Belgian cold-storage ship which had brought fresh beef from Australia, furnishing the blockaders and their friends with excellent beef, while the Spaniards

cooped up in the city were cut off from supplies. In the beginning of August the American army began to close in on Manila. On the 13th the naval force commenced the attack by silencing the guns of Fort San Antonio. Then the land forces moved steadily forward around the shore, and after hard fighting the white flag was displayed from the city walls. The chief work of the fleet was now completed, and some of the captains promptly returned to the United States, but Admiral Dewey preferred to stick to his ship, though he was requested to give advice to the peace commissioners at Paris.

On August 28th the flagship "Olympia" went to Hong Kong to be docked, and Dewey, after the long strain of the blockade, sought rest at a health-resort near by. When partially recovered, he started on a leisurely return voyage in the "Olympia." Several days were spent at Ceylon, and then the ship passed up the Red Sea and through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean. The principal stop was at Trieste, where the Austrian naval authorities received the conqueror with marked honor. At Naples and Gibraltar there were further greetings, and then the "Olympia" crossed the ocean, arriving at Sandy Hook on Tuesday, September 26th, two days ahead of the expected time. The people smiled approval, exclaiming, "Dewey is always ahead of time." The New York reception committee immediately went on board the "Olympia" to convey the greetings of the metropolis, and on Thursday Governor Roosevelt, on behalf of the Empire State, welcomed the Admiral. In the meantime the ship was cleaned up and the medals voted by Congress to the officers and men of the fleet were distributed.

Great preparations had been made for an appropriate national welcome to the naval heroes who had destroyed a hostile fleet and won new honor for their flag and country. When the formal celebration began on Friday, September 29th, New York harbor was crowded with every sort of craft, while all the surrounding wharves and houses and hillsides were packed with people, eager to bestow the tribute of their praise on the modest Admiral. At the Battery Mayor Robert Van Wyck gave a formal welcome, presented a gold medal of honor, and bestowed on him the freedom of the city. After a brief

shower, under a brilliant rainbow, the flagship started to lead the magnificent procession past the Battery. This marine pageant was under the direction of Lieutenant Commander John C. Fremont. Besides the "Olympia," it comprised Admiral Sampson's flagship, the "New York," the battleships "Indiana," "Massachusetts," "Brooklyn" and "Texas," the training-ship "Lancaster," an old-time frigate, the "Dolphin," and the "Scorpion," besides an array of torpedo-boats, and Admiral Howison's flagship, the "Chicago," which brought up the rear. It seemed to be a naval rehearsal of the entire war, for these vessels had signalized themselves in Cuban as well as Philippine waters, and had destroyed Cervera's as well as Montojo's fleet. Many naval officers who had been distinguished in the war were present, for the most part as spectators. The immense naval parade passed up the North River, eagerly watched by dense crowds from the shores. When it reached Riverside Park the "Olympia" discharged a salute of twenty-one guns in honor of General Grant, as it approached his tomb. There the "Olympia" dropped anchor near the float "Victory," while the other war vessels, followed by the numerous yachts and excursion boats, passed in review. Commodore J. Pierpont Morgan, on the "Corsair," commanded the division of yachts, while Sir Thomas Lipton's "Erin" led another column. The naval spectacle presented on this day was never excelled in beauty and grandeur in Western waters.

The night of this public holiday was given to universal merrymaking. Saturday witnessed an equally imposing demonstration in the street parade. Early in the morning the Admiral landed at the Battery and was driven to City Hall, where the Mayor, in the name of the city, presented him with a gold loving-cup. Then by steamboat they passed to Riverside Park, where carriages were in waiting. The Admiral, with Mayor Van Wyck, rode in an open barouche, drawn by four horses. He was attended by his officers and men, and followed by 25,000 soldiers, assembled from all parts of the Union, and including the "Fighting Tenth" Pennsylvania, which had also returned from the Philippines. The spectacle formed by the brilliant parade, the enthusiastic



crowds assembled at every point to witness it, and the splendidly-decorated streets through which it passed, has never been surpassed in this country. The Governors of most of the States rode at the head of their troops. From Grant's Tomb to the Washington Arch, a distance of seven miles, there was an almost unbroken series of stands crowded with cheering spectators, while windows and housetops were similarly occupied.

A splendid arch, decorated with sculpture, had been erected in honor of the Admiral's achievements, but by a blunder on the part of the directors of the parade, he was not taken through it. A reviewing stand had been erected at the Worth monument, and from it the Admiral witnessed the grand procession. Special greeting was given to Governor Roosevelt, who, when Assistant Secretary of the Navy, had supplied the means for winning the victory of Manila Bay. The Admiral also showed interest in the Fighting Tenth Pennsylvania, who were dressed in the canvas uniforms they wore while on duty in the Philippines. The line was closed with veterans of the Civil War. These two days' festivities, unmarred by a single accident, form a notable chapter in the history of the metropolis of the New World.

Admiral Dewey on the following Monday passed to Washington, where he enjoyed another grand welcome and had a special interview with President McKinley. The Secretary of the Navy permitted him to choose his own duty for the future. A sum of money had been raised by general subscription to present him with a house in Washington, and this was gratefully accepted.

Amid all these bewildering demonstrations of respect and grateful appreciation Admiral Dewey preserved his modest equanimity, declaring the popular ovation far beyond his deserving. Repeatedly asked to permit his name to be used as a presidential candidate, he uniformly declined, asserting that he was only a sailor, without political experience.

On the ninth of November, 1899, a few days after he had taken possession of the house which had been purchased for him with the proceeds of the public subscription, Admiral Dewey was united in marriage to Mrs. Mildred McLean

Hazen, of Washington, D. C., the widow of General William B. Hazen, Chief Signal Officer of the United States.

DEWEY'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY.

(May 1, 1898.)

THE story of the action in Manila Bay is here told in Dewey's own words, which, by their simplicity, give a correct notion of the solid character of the man. It is taken from his report to the Navy Department, dated from the flagship "Olympia," Cavite, May 4, 1898.

The squadron left Mirs Bay on April 27th, arrived off Bolinao on the morning of April 30th, and finding no vessels there proceeded down the coast and arrived off the entrance to Manila Bay on the same afternoon. The "Boston" and the "Concord" were sent to reconnoitre Port Subig. A thorough search was made of the port by the "Boston" and "Concord," but the Spanish fleet was not found. We entered the south channel at 11.30 P.M., steaming in column at eight knots. After half the squadron had passed, a battery on the south side of the channel opened fire, none of the shots taking effect. The "Boston" and "McCulloch" returned the fire. The squadron proceeded across the bay at slow speed and arrived off Manila at daybreak, and was fired upon at 5.15 A.M. by three batteries at Manila and two near Cavite and by the Spanish fleet, anchored in an approximating east and west line across the mouth of Bakor Bay, with their left in shoal water in Canacao Bay.

The squadron then proceeded to the attack, the flagship "Olympia," under my personal direction, leading, followed at a distance by the "Baltimore," "Raleigh," "Petrel," "Concord" and "Boston," in the order named, which formation was maintained throughout the action. The squadron opened fire at 5.41 A.M. While advancing to the attack two mines were exploded ahead of the flagship, too far to be effective. The squadron maintained a continuous and precise fire at ranges varying from 5000 to 2000 yards, countermarching in a line approximately parallel to that of the Spanish fleet. The enemy's fire was vigorous, but generally ineffective. Early in the engagement two launches put out towards the "Olympia," with the apparent intention of using torpedoes. One was sunk and the other disabled by our fire and beached before they were able to fire their torpedoes.

At 7 A.M. the Spanish flagship "Reina Cristina" made a desperate attempt to leave the line and come out to engage at short

range, but was received with such a galling fire, the entire battery of the "Olympia" being concentrated on her, that she was barely able to return to the shelter of the point. The fires started in her by our shells at the time were not extinguished until she sank. The three batteries at Manila had kept up a continuous fire from the beginning of the engagement, which fire was not returned by my squadron. The first of these batteries was situated on the south mole head at the entrance of the Pasig river, the second on the south position of the walled city of Manila, and the third at Malate, about one half mile further south. At this point I sent a message to the Governor-general to the effect that if the batteries did not cease firing the city would be shelled. This had the effect of silencing them.

The Spanish lost the following vessels: Sunk, "Reina Cristina," "Castilla," "Don Antonio de Ulloa"; burned, "Don Juan de Austria," "Isla de Luzon," "Isla de Cuba," "General Lezo," "Marquis del Duero," "El Correo Velasco" and "Isla de Mindanao" (transport); captured, "Rapido" and "Hercules" (tugs) and several small launches.

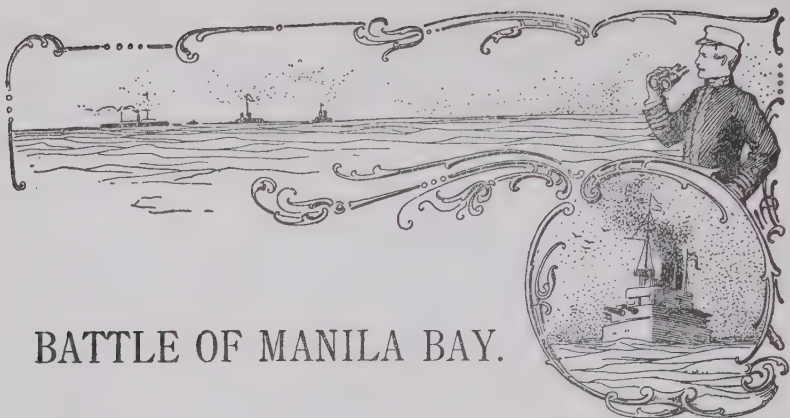
I am unable to obtain complete accounts of the enemy's killed and wounded, but believe their losses to be very heavy. The "Reina Cristina" alone had 150 killed, including the captain, and 90 wounded. I am happy to report that the damage done to the squadron under my command was inconsiderable. There were none killed and only seven men in the squadron slightly wounded. Several of the vessels were struck and even penetrated, but the damage was of the slightest, and the squadron is in as good condition now as before the battle.

I beg to state to the Department that I doubt if any commander-in-chief was ever served by more loyal, efficient and gallant captains than those of the squadron now under my command.

At 7.35 A.M. I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for breakfast. At 11.16 I returned to the attack. By this time the Spanish flagship and almost all the Spanish fleet were in flames. At 12.30 the squadron ceased firing, the batteries being silenced and the ships sunk, burned and deserted.

At 12.40 the squadron returned and anchored off Manila, the "Petrel" being left behind to complete the destruction of the smaller gunboats, which were behind the point of Cavite. This duty was performed by Commander E. P. Wood in the most expeditious and complete manner possible.

GEORGE DEWEY.



BATTLE OF MANILA BAY.

IN the latter part of February Commodore Dewey decided to bring all his squadron together, and chose Hong Kong as the place of rendezvous for strategic reasons. The vessels forming this squadron were as follows: "Olympia," flag ship, Captain C. V. Gridley commanding; "Boston," Captain Frank Wildes; "Concord," Commander Asa Walker; "Petrel," Commander E. P. Wood. The "Raleigh," Captain J. B. Coghlan commanding, arrived from New York soon afterward, and just before the battle of Manila Bay the "Baltimore," commanded by Captain N. M. Dyer, was detached from the Pacific station and given to Commodore Dewey. These vessels were all cruisers, not, as many people have supposed, "ironclads," or armored battle-ships. Except the armor four inches thick around the turret guns of the "Olympia," there was no armor in the squadron. These six cruisers were as follows:

The 5,800-ton "Olympia," carrying four 8-inch and ten rapid-fire 5-inch guns and fourteen six-pounders, with Lieutenant C. P. Rees as executive officer.

The 4,400-ton "Baltimore," four 8-inch and six 6-inch rifles and four six-pounders, with Lieutenant Commander J. B. Briggs as executive officer.

The 3,000-ton "Boston," carrying two 8-inch and six 6-inch rifles and two six-pounders, with Lieutenant-Commander J. A. Norris as executive officer.

The 3,200-ton "Raleigh," carrying one 6-inch and ten

rapid-fire 5-inch guns, with Lieutenant Frederic Singer as executive officer.

The 1,700-ton "Concord," carrying six 6-inch rifles and two six-pounders.

The 900-ton "Petrel," carrying four 6-inch rifles, with Lieutenant E. M. Hughes as executive officer.

The total number of officers and men in the squadron was 1,695. There were, of course, some vacancies in the ships' companies, but just before sailing for Manila the Commodore brought one hundred men and several officers from the obsolete "Monogacy" and filled up the complements of his active ships.

Accompanying the squadron was the revenue cutter "Hugh McCulloch," which had arrived at Hong Kong on her way from New York to the Pacific coast. She carried four light pieces, and was commanded by Captain Hobson, of the Revenue Marine Service, who was ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Commodore Dewey. Two merchant steamers, the "Nanshon," laden with 3,000 tons of Cardiff coal, and the "Zafiro," carrying 7,000 tons of similar coal, having been bought by Commodore Dewey, went with the squadron.

Commodore Dewey withdrew from the harbor of Hong Kong on Monday, April 25th, in response to a request from the acting governor of Hong Kong. The Commodore remained at Mirs Bay, in Chinese waters about thirty miles from Hong Kong, until the afternoon of Wednesday, the 27th, when he sailed for the Philippines. Gun drills and other exercises kept the officers and men occupied continuously during this run, and from the time the squadron left Mirs Bay until it came into the presence of the enemy there was not an hour in which preparations for battle were not under way.

When the tired ship's company had finished its day's work on Wednesday, and the "Olympia" had settled down to the quiet of the first watch, the stillness was broken with abrupt harshness by the blare of the bugle, red and white lights flashed up and down the masts of all the ships in response to the Commodore's peremptory signal, "Prepare for action," and in two minutes each vessel was alive with men, who only a

few minutes before had been sleeping soundly. From the bridge of the flagship sharply uttered orders proceeded, and in seven minutes the executive officer was ready to report to Captain Gridley: "The ship is ready for action, sir." Looking back along the line of ships, dimly visible in the moonlight, it was easy to see that every one of them was stripped for battle also, and the Commodore was naturally greatly pleased with the quick and thorough response to his signal.

When the squadron left Mirs Bay no official notice that war existed had been received from Washington; but private cable messages of Tuesday had brought the news that Congress had declared war upon Spain. Accordingly, at the usual "quarters for inspection," on Wednesday evening, the division officers made the announcement to the men that war existed, and the rousing cheer that went up from every division showed that the men regarded the long-expected news with the keenest satisfaction. When the men read on the bulletin board the bombastic proclamation of the Governor of the Philippines, the roar of derisive laughter that went up from the whole berth deck was an indication that the men were only anxiously longing for a chance to show the new Furioso what they thought about him and his proclamation. Bandmaster Valifuoco selected the music for the evening concert on Thursday with especial reference to rousing the patriotism of the boys in blue, choosing many of the airs that were popular in the North during the Civil War; but though these were favorably received, it was not till the band struck up "Yankee Doodle" that the boys cheered. When the concert closed with "Star Spangled Banner" the voices of at least fifty men took up the words of each verse, the young apprentices particularly being prominent in the lead, and the chorus spread through the ship from forecastle to cabin with an enthusiasm that carried the hearts of all on board.

Search-light and night-signal exercise took place during a large part of the first watch Thursday night, and the progress made in working both the lights and the signals was very satisfactory. Friday was passed without incident, except that the weather became very warm and muggy, and the work of the men below deck, particularly in the fire-

rooms and engine-rooms was exhausting far beyond what it had been at any previous time this year. In spite of the heat and the rather heavy sea, however, the men did their work so thoroughly that every ship kept her position with a precision that I have never seen surpassed, even in merely practice evolutions.

Land—the island of Luzon—was sighted early Saturday morning, and being now in close proximity to the enemy the whole squadron began its final preparations for the battle that every one knew was near at hand. Aboard the “Olympia” and “Baltimore,” and possibly some of the other ships, the sheet chain cable was “bighted” or coiled around the ammunition hoists so as to give them considerable protection. There is little doubt that these improvised shields would have kept out many a shell if the Spaniards had shot straight enough to hit them. Nets of tough, pliable Manila rope, about as thick as one’s little finger, were stretched beneath all the boats and were drawn across the front of the ward-room bulkheads. These splinter nets were intended to prevent the woodwork from throwing deadly missiles when struck by shot or shell. All unnecessary material was thrown overboard, and in most of the ships the men preferred to dispense with many of their usual comforts rather than to keep dangerous woodwork in the parts of the ships where they would have to do their fighting. Mess-chests, mess-tables, diddy-boxes, chairs, wardroom bulkheads, and a vast quantity of other impediments went swimming also.

On the afternoon of April 30th commanding officers came over to the flagship, all vessels lying motionless on an absolutely calm sea. When the war council broke up we soon learned that the Commodore had told his captains that he intended to enter Manila Bay that night, largely because he felt sure the Spaniards would not expect him until the favorite reckoning day in Spanish affairs, “mañana.” The moon had risen, and although it was occasionally obscured by light clouds the night was not one in which a squadron ought to have been able to run through a well-defended channel without drawing upon itself a hot fire. Consequently, at a quarter to ten o’clock, the men were sent to

their guns, not by the usual bugle-call, but by stealthily whispered word of mouth. Every man was long since ready, and the final steps of battle-clearing were completed in deathly silence in a very few minutes. Off to port we could see the sullen loom of the land, where, for all we knew, the enemy was already watching our approach. Astern we could dimly make out the phantom-like hulls of our consorts. Not a light was permitted to show in any vessel except one at the very stern, which was necessary as a guide for the following ship, and this one was shaded on every side.

The speed was increased to eight knots, and we slipped past the batteries that we believed existed on the point north of the entrance without seeing anything to lead us to think we had been seen. Then Corregidor Island came abeam, and every glass was turned on its frowning front. But not till we had swung into the chief channel—Boca Grande, as it is called—did the lookouts of Corregidor catch our sight. Then a bright light flashed up in the centre of the island, and it was answered by a similar one on the north shore. At last a rather feeble rocket staggered aloft over Corregidor, and we felt sure we should soon hear from their guns. But no; on we went deeper and deeper into the bay, and still no hostile move was made.

Not until most of the squadron had passed the narrowest part of the entrance did a gun greet us. Shortly after eleven o'clock a bright flash on our port quarter was followed by the boom of a heavy gun, and simultaneously we heard the vindictive whistle of a shot far over our heads. The first hostile shot had been fired, and the fight was on. The battery whence this shot had come was too far astern to receive any return fire from the "Olympia," but the Commodore was somewhat uneasy about the three non-combatant ships. He therefore signalled to the "McCulloch" to take position on the flagship's port quarter, as in that place she and the two that were following her would be less exposed to attack. A few minutes later the "McCulloch" signalled that her chief engineer had been taken with a stroke of heat prostration, and medical consultation was asked for. Chief Engineer Randall died twenty minutes after, and his was the only life lost in the operation before Manila.

The "Raleigh," which was steaming along third in line, had the honor of firing the first shot in anger on our side. One of her 5-inch guns returned a ready response to the Spaniards' tardy salutation, and presently the "Boston" followed suit. Then another shot came from the shore batteries, and as our ships were on the close lookout for the flash, the "Concord" placed a 6-inch shell so exactly over the spot whence the enemy had fired that we felt confident of its good results. We heard afterwards that this shell had burst among the Spanish gunners, killing several, and, if this report was true, it was a marvelous shot. At any rate, there were no more shots fired from shore, and as the Commodore did not want to waste time on the batteries, the squadron kept on its course. Speed was now reduced to less than three knots, as there was no haste. The Commodore wished to arrive off Manila at the first break of dawn, but not earlier. The men wanted to lie down beside their guns to get what sleep they could, and the very strictest lookout was kept for the enemy's ships and torpedo boats. At four A.M. coffee and hard-tack were served out to the men, and the officers were glad to get the same frugal provender. The lights of Manila had long been in sight, and Lieutenant Calkins, the navigator, knew his position to a nicety. Indeed, much of the success of this bold entry into Manila Bay by night was due to the skill and judgment of the navigator, who continued his patient and harassing labors all through the battle with never-failing accuracy and success. It should be remembered that navigating a harbor that is well lighted and buoyed is not the easiest thing in the world, and in this case Lieutenant Calkins had no lights or range marks to guide him.

The dawn began about 4.30, when we were almost six miles from Manila. As the sun came up exactly behind the city the shadow cast by the land obscured the harbor foreground. Finally, we made out the presence of a group of vessels in the port, but before five o'clock we were able to recognize them as merchant ships. Our cruisers were now in close battle order. We had passed to the northward of Manila and were holding to the south when we sighted the Spanish squadron in the little bay of Cavité. At this point we knew the

Spaniards had a well-equipped navy-yard, which they call Cavit  arsenal. The officer in command of this arsenal, Rear-Admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasaron, was also the commander-in-chief of the squadron, the second in rank being Commandante General Enrique Sostoa y Ordo ez, a captain in the navy. Following is a list and brief summary of the important characteristics of the vessels in Admiral Montojo's command :

"Reina Cristina, flagship, Captain S. Cadarso commanding ; 3500 tons ; battery, six 6.2-inch, two 2.7-inch, six 6-pounders, and six 3-pounder rapid-fire guns ; speed, 17.5 knots ; crew, 400 officers and men.

"Castilla," Captain A. M. de Olivia commanding, 3334 tons ; battery, four 5.9-inch, two 4.7-inch, two 3.3-inch, four 2.9-inch and eight six-pounder rapid-fire guns ; speed, 14 knots ; crew, 300.

"Isla de Cuba," Captain J. Sidrach, and "Isla de Luzon," Captain J. de le Herian ; 1030 tons each ; battery, four 4.7-inch, four six-pounder and two three-pounder rapid-fire guns ; speed, 16 knots ; crew, 200 each.

"Don Antonio de Ulloa," Captain E. Robion, and "Don Juan de Austria," Captain J. de la Concha ; 1130 tons ; batteries, four 4.7-inch, two 2.7-inch and two three-pounder rapid-fire guns ; speed, 14 knots ; crew, 200 men each.

"General Lezo," Commander R. Benevento, and "Marques del Duero," Commander S. Norena Guerra ; 524 and 500 tons respectively ; batteries, two 4.7-inch, one 3.5-inch and two three-pounder rapid-fire guns ; speed, about 11 knots ; crew, 100.

The "Velasco" was also in the harbor, but she was undergoing repairs and her guns—three 5.9-inch and two 2.7 rapid-fire guns—were mounted in the earthworks on shore. There were four torpedo boats, two of which were sunk during the action, and two fine transports, the "Manila" and the "Isla de Mindanao," one of which was captured and the other sunk.

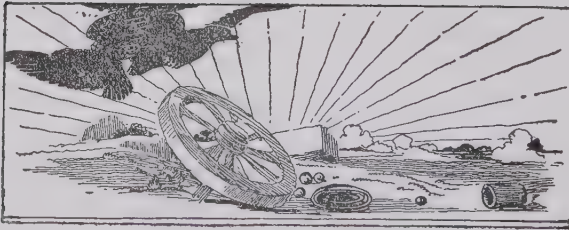
It will be seen that the Spanish squadron was inferior in every way to the attacking fleet. If it had been obliged to come out into the open sea to fight, it would not have had the ghost of a chance. But that which gave the Spaniards an equalizing element was the position they had taken under the

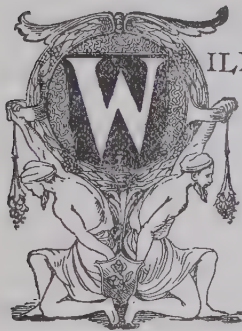
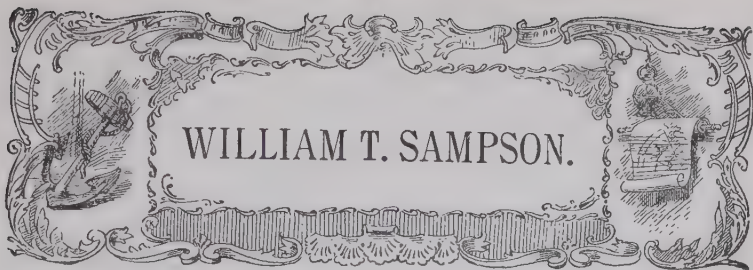
protection of shore batteries. It is estimated by all experts that one gun mounted on shore is worth several aboard ship. It has a fixed platform, and is, therefore, able to fire with much greater accuracy. Another great advantage our enemy had was the knowledge of the exact distance of our ships at all times during the action. Having no range-marks to go by, and receiving no aid from the few range-finders installed in our vessels, it was an exceedingly difficult matter for our officers to determine the proper elevation to be given to our sights. We were constantly moving—sometimes in and sometimes across the lines of fire, so that even when a shot was seen to strike in the right spot it was no guide for the next one. At a distance of 4000 yards or less the Spaniards ought not to have missed one shot in five, especially from their shore batteries, and the fact that we suffered so little is the best evidence that our enemies were not capable of taking advantage of all their opportunities.

Five times we made the circuit in front of the Spanish position. From the bridge of the flagship I was able to watch every move of our own and the enemy's vessels, and seeing the storm of shells striking about us or bursting close aboard the ships of our squadron, we had good reason for fearing that our loss had been heavy. We knew that the "Olympia" had escaped without casualties, but as we had a dozen hairbreadth misses it did not seem possible that our consorts had been equally fortunate. I began, at first, to keep count of the shells which barely cleared our hull or which burst right in our faces, for I had an idea the fight would not last more than half an hour at the outside, and I thought it would be interesting to know how many times we escaped being hit, but I got tired of that very soon. When a shell comes straight along through the air one does not have time to catch a sight of it till it has passed, although one has no difficulty in knowing that it has been trying to scrape an acquaintance, as many shells did. It screams out its salutation only a few feet away from one's head. But when it bursts in the air before one's face, the air seems to be full of chunks of metal. Another very unpleasant thing about the Spanish shells was the way they had of coming at us even when they had not been prop

erly aimed. Thus it often happened that a projectile which not only fell short, but which was not even a good line shot, would be "upset" by its impact with the water, and would come tumbling, end over end, far out of its original direction.

When the "Baltimore" went in and cleared out the shore batteries in the second action, what cheers she got from the "Olympia's" men, who had been at the front during the whole of the first fight! And they yelled with glee again when the little "Petrel" went into the inner harbor and finished off the craft that were still afloat.—J. L. STICKNEY.





WILLIAM T. SAMPSON was born in New York in 1839. He entered the Naval Academy in 1857 and graduated in 1860. He was promoted master in 1861, and lieutenant in July, 1862. He commanded the practice-ship "John Adams," and served on the iron-clad "Patapsco" in the South Atlantic blockade in 1864. The "Patapsco" was destroyed in Charleston harbor on January 15, 1865. While Sampson was on the flagship "Colorado" of the European squadron in 1866, he was promoted lieutenant-commander. He was instructor at the Naval Academy for several years, and served in the Naval Observatory. In 1884 he was a member of the International Conference on the Prime Meridian and Time. In 1885 he had charge of the Torpedo Station. In 1886 he was made Superintendent of the Naval Academy and remained there four years. In March, 1889, he was promoted captain. From 1893 to 1897 he was chief of the Bureau of Ordnance. In February, 1898, he was appointed President of the Board of Inquiry on the destruction of the "Maine" in Havana harbor. In April he was appointed Acting Rear Admiral in command of the North Atlantic Squadron. When war was declared against Spain, he was placed in charge of the blockade of Cuba. When Cervera's fleet was reported to have sought refuge in Santiago, Sampson went thither and made effective arrangements for blockading the harbor and for the destruction of the fleet if it should attempt to emerge. One of the devices to keep the fleet bottled up was the famous exploit of Lieutenant R. P. Hobson in sinking the "Merrimac" in the

narrow channel of the entrance. After submitting to the blockade for five weeks, Cervera, under orders of his superiors, made a bold dash for liberty on July 3d. But the vigilance and valor of the American fleet completely destroyed his squadron. Admiral Sampson had on that morning unfortunately gone to Siboney in his flagship "New York" to hold an interview with General Shafter. During Sampson's absence the Spanish vessels came out, and though he used his utmost endeavors to overtake their flight he was barely able to throw a few shots at the close of their destruction. The excellent measures which he had taken to prevent Cervera's escape had been entirely successful. The President promoted him to be Rear-Admiral, and in August he was also made a member of the commission to arrange the details of the Spanish evacuation of Cuba.

Admiral Sampson, on his return to New York, took command of the North Atlantic Squadron, which for a time was assembled off Bar Harbor, Maine. It was prominent in the naval demonstration given as a welcome to Admiral Dewey on his arrival at New York. Admiral Sampson was later in command of the Charlestown Navy Yard. But his health had been seriously broken by the labors and trials through which he had passed. He died at Washington, May 6, 1902, at the age of sixty-two, having served his country for more than forty years.

THE ARRIVAL OF CERVERA'S FLEET.

(George L. Dart was United States Consul at Martinique, W. I., and gave the Government the first information of the arrival of Cervera's fleet in the West Indies. The following is his account of his discovery.)

Leaving for St. Pierre on that well-remembered and sorrowful day that the "Maine" was destroyed and so many of our brave marines were sent, without a moment's warning, into the great unknown, I arrived at Martinique at a time when, upon all sides, was heard the cry of "War! War!" Soon came the definite knowledge that war was inevitable. I was in a country wholly unknown to me, not knowing what might be expected in the future. Then came the news of the departure from Cape Verde of Admiral Cervera's fleet bound for—no one knew where.

Spain's possessions in the West Indies were the objective point undoubtedly.

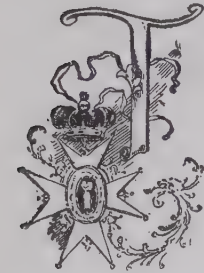
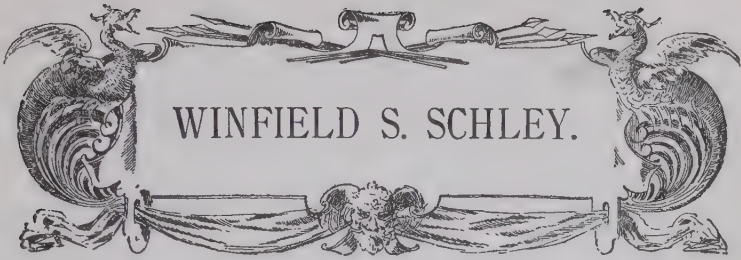
Upon the 11th of May, 1898, the auxiliary cruiser "Harvard" (formerly the "New York"), under the command of Captain C. S. Cotton, U. S. N., arrived at Saint Pierre, Martinique. In the early evening of the same day I received information from Fort de France, a port and capital, situated about sixteen miles south of Saint Pierre, that a Spanish vessel, presumably the Alphonso XIII. (supposed to be in the neighborhood), had put into port. Captain Cotton and I held a consultation and decided to investigate the truth or falsity of the rumor at once. It was deemed imprudent to use the cable or telephone. The only other means of communication between Saint Pierre and Fort de France was by a rough country road of thirty miles, or by water along the coast of sixteen miles. The small steamers, however, ran but twice daily, and the last one had gone. Lieutenant T. P. Kane, of the marines on board the "Harvard," was detailed by Captain Cotton to accompany me, and together we sought means of conveyance to Fort de France. No horses could be obtained, guaranteed to carry us over the bad roads, so the only plan left was to go by water. Securing the services of four natives and a small canoe, we left Saint Pierre at nine o'clock on the night of May 11th. After being out to sea for an hour a tropical rain and wind storm sprang up, and for a time it looked very dubious for our frail craft and ourselves, expecting any moment the narrow little boat to swamp. It was so dark we could see nothing, and we heard the breaking of the waves against the rocky shore. We were prepared to swim, however; in fact, had taken off our shoes and slipped our coats partly off in order to better enable us to do so should it become necessary. The natives worked hard at the oars, and after being buffeted about for five hours, we reached Fort de France at 2.30 on the morning of May 12th.

The Spanish hospital ship, "Alicante," which arrived on April 23d, was yet in port, but we were disappointed in seeing no signs of the Alphonso XIII. We were rather disgusted, and, after looking about the harbor, went to a hotel and gave our soaked clothing to the gargon to be dried. They came back just as wet as we parted with them, but on they went. We left the hotel at 5 A. M. for the north beach. At 5.30 we saw, standing to the east, apparently about ten miles out, what we thought to be a fleet, the exact number not clear because of a very heavy mist. But as this lifted, with the aid of night glasses, we made

out clearly the whole number, seven vessels, and at once came to the conclusion that it was the long-sought-for roving fleet of Admiral Cervera. While we were still watching, one of the vessels left the others and steamed towards the harbor. It was the torpedo-boat destroyer "Furor." A boat with an officer was sent ashore, evidently for dispatches and to confer with the Spanish Consul. The "Furor" returned to the fleet, and soon after the torpedo-boat destroyer "Terror" came limping into port, where she remained until May 25th, undergoing repairs, afterwards obtaining only enough coal to carry her to the nearest Spanish port.

Lieutenant Kane and I were delighted at having discovered the whereabouts of Admiral Cervera's fleet. We left Fort de France at once on a small steam yacht, reaching Saint Pierre about nine o'clock on the morning of May 12th, where I at once sent a cipher dispatch to my government, announcing the discovery and whereabouts of the fleet so long sought.

The fleet remained off Martinique until the following night, when they steamed out to sea; and their destination, we afterwards learned, was Curaçao on the South American coast. Signal lights were kept flashing from the hills, evidently giving the Spanish fleet information regarding the "Harvard." They were probably manipulated by Spanish secret agents on shore. Protests were lodged, and after the country roads had been scoured by a squad of gendarmes sent by the Governor at my request, the signal lights ceased. Some days after the departure of the fleet the steamer "Twickingham" entered the port of Fort de France with 4,500 tons of coal consigned to the Spanish Consul. It was probably meant to coal the fleet outside the three-mile limit, but arrived too late. I protested respectfully to the Governor not to allow the "Twickingham's" coal to be landed, the "Terror" and "Alicante" being still in port, and my protest was maintained, no coal being landed. Expecting her to depart soon and probably endeavor to reach Porto Rico or Cuba, I kept a close watch upon her movements. Upon the day of her leaving I secured the information of her supposed destination, Kingston, Jamaica, but in reality Santiago de Cuba. I at once cabled my Government the facts, and the "Twickingham" was captured twenty miles off Jamaica heading north, evidently for Santiago de Cuba. She was confiscated by the United States and taken to Key West.—GEORGE L. DARTE.



O Winfield Scott Schley, acting in accordance with the plans of Rear Admiral Sampson, belongs the chief honor in the actual destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet at Santiago. He was born near Frederick, Maryland, in 1839, and entered the Naval Academy in 1856. In 1860 he sailed to Japan in the vessel which conducted the Japanese embassy home. He had reached the rank of master in 1861, when the Civil War called forth the full strength of the Navy in the extensive blockade of the Southern ports. Schley served in the expedition against New Orleans, and on the West Gulf blockading squadron. In 1863 he made the original reconnaissance of Port Hudson on the Mississippi, and in the subsequent attack his vessel, the "Winona," received ninety-eight shells in the hull and lost twenty men. He assisted in the capture of that place on July 9, 1863.

After the Civil War Lieutenant Schley served in the South Atlantic and Pacific. It was his fortune to be present at the bombardment of Valparaiso, in Chili, by the Spanish admiral Nunez in March, 1866. In the same year he witnessed the bombardment of Callao, put down an insurrection of the Chinese in the Chincha islands, and protected American interests during a revolution. He was promoted commander in July, 1866, and was instructor in the Naval Academy for several years. Being in the Asiatic squadron in June, 1871, he helped to capture the Korean forts on Salee river. The Koreans had attacked the American surveying vessels. Schley led the expedition to chastise the Koreans. With 650 men and seven howitzers, he advanced through a mountainous country, descended a ravine eighty feet deep and

climbed up a similar height before reaching the fort which he captured. He was again on the South Atlantic station, when, in 1879, he went in the "Essex" to the South Shetland islands in search of a missing sealer. He rescued a shipwrecked crew from the island of Tristan d'Acunha.

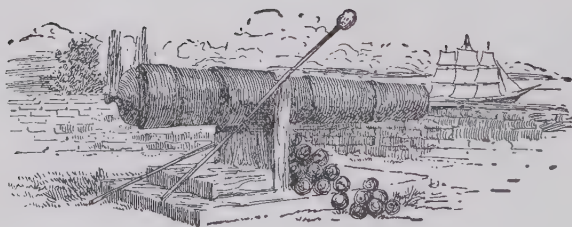
After spending some years as instructor in the Naval Academy and as light house inspector, Schley volunteered in 1884 to command a relief expedition in search of Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greely, the Arctic explorer. The United States vessels "Thetis" and "Bear" were furnished for this purpose. After passing through a thousand miles of ice, Schley reached Cape Sabine, in Grinnell Land, on June 22d, barely in time to save Greely and six associates from imminent death. In 1886 Schley assisted J. R. Soley in preparing the narrative of this expedition, called "The Rescue of Greely." In March, 1888, while chief of the Bureau of Equipment, Schley was made captain. He commanded the cruiser "Baltimore" from 1889 for three years and the steamer "New York" from October, 1895, to March, 1897.

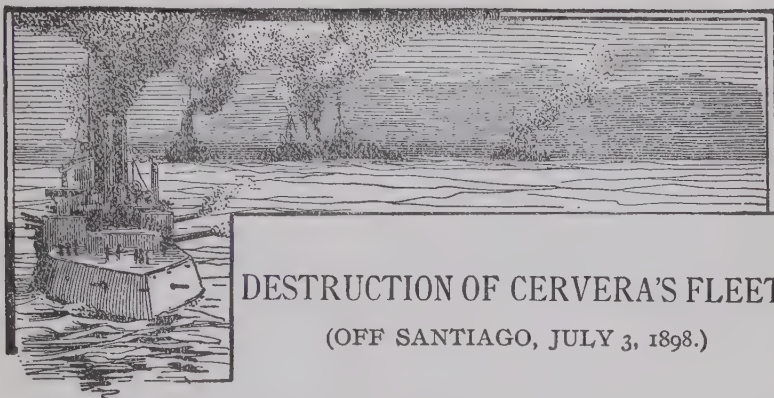
Schley was promoted commodore in February, 1898, and was put in command of the Flying Squadron at Norfolk in April. His flagship was the steam cruiser "Brooklyn." In May he was ordered to Key West, and placed under the orders of Acting Rear Admiral W. T. Sampson. Commodore Schley was sent to the south coast of Cuba, and endeavored to locate Admiral Cervera's fleet. Not finding it at Cienfuegos, he was ordered to Santiago, where the Navy Department had reason to believe Cervera had sought refuge. Schley's scouts at first could find no indication of the Spanish fleet. On account of the need of coal, and the difficulty of transferring it from colliers in stormy weather, he was returning to Key West when he received positive orders to remain at Santiago. The weather having changed, he was able to coal his ships from colliers. He then took up his station at Santiago, and was soon able to report that the Spanish fleet was bottled up. To his report he added the prediction, "They won't get home soon." Rear Admiral Sampson afterwards joined the blockading squadron. On July 3d his flagship, the "New York," had gone towards Siboney, where Sampson was to land to

have an interview with General Shafter. The command during this brief absence devolved upon Commodore Schley, who proved fully equal to the emergency. About 9.30 on that morning Admiral Cervera's fleet came out in line under full steam, and was quickly observed by the officers of the blockading squadron. The vessels were immediately ordered to prepare for action. Commodore Schley rushed to head off the "Infanta Maria Teresa," which led the Spanish line. After discharging a broadside at her, it became necessary to turn the "Brooklyn" in a loop to avoid a dash by the "Vizcaya," and to enable the battleships "Texas" and "Indiana" to use their guns effectively. This manœuvre, being misunderstood, afterwards led to some gratuitous imputations on Schley's courage. The entire management of the "Brooklyn," fairly considered, affords ample vindication of Schley's ability as a commander. Ably assisted by gallant officers and crews, he pushed his victory to the utmost, and let no Spanish vessel escape. In this second great naval victory of the war the honor properly belongs to the leader who proved his courage by his glorious achievement. Consequently President McKinley recognized Commodore Schley's merits by appointing him Rear-Admiral, and making him one of the commissioners to arrange details of the evacuation of Porto Rico. Having completed his task Schley returned to New York in November.

But the unfortunate controversy which had arisen over Schley's merits prevented the Senate from confirming the promotion of either Sampson or Schley. The latter was evidently opposed by strong influence in the Navy Department. Prominent newspapers kept up the attacks on his skill and courage. They even went so far as to declare that in the great fight he was badly frightened and tried to run away. On the other hand the official reports and testimony showed that the "Brooklyn" was hit by Spanish projectiles more frequently than all the other vessels of the fleet taken together, and that she hit the Spanish vessels with more big projectiles than all the other ships put together. The loop which the "Brooklyn" made was an instance of admirable tactics under the circumstances, and could cause no danger to the "Texas."

as was alleged. Schley spent his time on shore in visiting his friends, and witnessed the magnificent reception given to Admiral Dewey on his return from the Philippines. When it was announced in September, 1899, that Schley had been appointed to command the South Atlantic Station, his friends complained that this command of three minor vessels was less than his rank and services entitled him to take, but he himself made no objection. Promise was given that the command should be increased, and that he should be ordered to visit ports of Spain to indicate the restoration of peaceful relations. In the meantime the American people unite in demanding that adequate honors should be paid to the naval officer who performed the glorious task of destroying Cervera's fleet.





DESTRUCTION OF CERVERA'S FLEET.

(OFF SANTIAGO, JULY 3, 1898.)

WHEN Admiral Don Pascual de Cervera y Topete steamed westward from the Canary Islands at the end of April, 1898, the British Admiral Colomb declared that he had four of the finest cruisers in the world and three of the latest kind of torpedo-boat destroyers. This was the opinion of the highest disinterested naval authority, and was generally accepted, even by Americans. There was considerable alarm in the United States as to what this formidable fleet might attempt. Three of its vessels, the "Vizcaya," which had visited New York in February, the "Almirante Oquendo," and the "Infanta Maria Teresa," were 61 7,000 tons each, 340 feet long, with 12 inches of armor, somewhat diminished at gun positions, and a 3-inch protective deck. Their draught was 21 feet 6 inches, and their speed was 20 knots. Each carried two high-power 11-inch guns, ten 5.5-inch (those of the "Vizcaya" being rapid-fire), eight 2.2-inch, and eight 1.4-inch rapid-fire, two machine guns, and eight torpedo tubes. The other cruiser, the "Cristobal Colon," was of 6840 tons, 328 feet long, with only 6 inches of side-armor and 1.5-inch protective deck. She had a draught of 24 feet, and was of higher speed than the others. She had two 10-inch guns mounted in barbette instead of turrets, ten 6-inch rapid-fire guns, six 4.7-inch, ten 1.4-inch guns, three machine guns, and five torpedo tubes.

Had this fleet been thoroughly manned and kept in first-class condition, it would have been fully a match for the

American fleet in the West Indian waters. The "Iowa," "Indiana," and "Massachusetts" were battleships superior in fighting power to the "Maria Teresa," but of three knots less speed, according to their trial trips. The battleship "Texas," of 6315 tons, was about equal to the "Vizcaya," except in speed, in which she was two knots short. She had four 12-inch guns, but the "Vizcaya" excelled in the smaller guns. The "Oregon," which might be pronounced superior to any Spanish vessel in all save speed, was still on her long venturesome voyage around South America. The "New York" and "Brooklyn" were but lightly armored cruisers, well fitted for scouting, but not equal in fighting power. Cervera's torpedo boat destroyers had records of 28 knots, and were well equipped for deadly work.

Yet, while the American government had considerable misgiving as to what Cervera might accomplish, and the American people were even alarmed for a raid on North Atlantic seaports, and other nations declared that the contest would be protracted and doubtful, Cervera himself, brave and sensible, was reluctant to proceed across the Atlantic. The Spanish vessels had been largely supplied with Scotch and English engineers and machinists. The majority of these had left when war became imminent, and the Spaniards who took their places were inferior in the management of the delicate machinery of a high-class modern war-ship. The destroyer "Terror," which was brought across the ocean had to be left for repairs at the first port made, her machinery having been ruined by the Spanish engineers. The crews in general, though brave, were not highly trained, and were decidedly deficient in target-practice. Further, owing to the corruption in the marine administration, the vessels were not as thoroughly equipped as they were reputed to be, nor were they fully supplied with necessaries. Cervera was aware of these deficiencies, and vainly protested that to send the fleet to the West Indies was sending it to destruction. But Portugal had at last proclaimed neutrality in the war, and he must leave the Canaries. The Spanish ministry was greatly influenced by political considerations. The throne of young Alfonso XIII. was in danger from the Carlists unless courage was dis-

played in its defence against foreign aggression. Cervera must move to meet the foe at whatever hazard. The poor but haughty Spaniards had a supreme contempt for the money-getting Americans. They could not believe that they had real courage, love of fighting and of honor. On the contrary, they delighted in gibes at the American hog. And yet the ministry were impressed by Cervera's representations of his unprepared condition for severe fighting, especially after a long ocean voyage. They therefore directed him to proceed cautiously, so as to reach Cuba as unexpectedly as possible. It is wonderful, indeed, to note how carefully the movements of that much-dreaded fleet were concealed from watchful spies and news agencies, as well as from American officials at home and abroad.

On May 12th Cervera appeared suddenly at the French island of Martinique. He had steamed slowly and had met no interruptions, but his vessels needed coal and repairs. He proceeded to Curagoa, where he obtained some coal that had been condemned by the Dutch Government. Admiral Sampson was returning from the ineffectual attack on San Juan, Porto Rico, when he heard of Cervera's arrival. He hastened to the Windward Passage to guard the approach to Havana. Schley went to Cienfuegos, where it was thought that Cervera would seek shelter. But the Spaniard slipped quietly into the harbor of Santiago on the southwest coast of Cuba. This harbor is long and narrow and surrounded with high hills. It has a narrow entrance at one corner, which does not permit any view of the harbor from the outside. The Navy Department at Washington got information that Cervera was there, and sent orders to Schley to examine the place. At first Schley could find no indications of the missing fleet, and being short of coal, was proceeding to Key West for a new supply. The stormy weather prevented coal from being taken from colliers off the coast. But further orders came to him to stay, and the weather moderated so that the vessels got their coal. Then closer investigation on May 29th showed that two or three of Cervera's vessels were in the harbor. Finally Lieutenant Victor Blue landed on the coast and made his way on the hills around the harbor and observed the full number of

the squadron. On May 31st Commodore Schley made an attack on the Spanish flagship and batteries, which were silenced. As it was ascertained that Cervera was bottled up, Admiral Sampson hastened from Key West, and on June 1st took charge of the blockading squadron, sixteen warships in all.

Before dawn of June 3d Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson had performed his daring exploit of sinking the collier "Merimac" across the narrow channel entrance, hoping thus effectually to put a stopper in the bottle. Though he was not entirely successful, the obstruction was sufficient to prevent Cervera from attempting to escape by night. On June 10th a landing was effected by 600 American marines at Guantanamo harbor, fifty miles west of Santiago, and this was soon made a coaling station and harbor of refuge for the blockading fleet off Santiago. Admiral Sampson had notified the authorities at Washington that Santiago could be captured by a land force if sent promptly before the Spaniards could increase its defences and garrison. General Shafter's expedition was therefore quickly embarked and brought to the coast on June 20th. The landing at Daiquiri, seventeen miles from Santiago, was completed by the aid of the navy in three days. An advance was at once commenced on Santiago. The heights of El Caney and San Juan, overlooking the city, were seized on July 1st. The surrender of Santiago was demanded and was inevitable.

Again orders came to Cervera directing him to do what he believed involved the sacrifice of his fleet. After sufficient protest to make clear the responsibility of the action, the gallant Admiral obeyed. On Sunday morning, July 3rd, the American ships were undergoing the customary weekly inspection. All were in their stations from 4000 to 6000 yards off the harbor entrance, Commodore Schley's flagship, the "Brooklyn," being nearest; then in order the "Texas," "Iowa," "Oregon," "Indiana." Admiral Sampson, with his flagship, the "New York," had gone to Siboney to consult with General Shafter. At 9.30 the lookout on the "Iowa" observed a thin drift of smoke rising over the hills. From all the other vessels the same observation was

made almost as quickly. The captains gave the command, "All hands clear ship for action." Gongs carried notice to the depths of the engine-room. The magazines were opened, hoists were rigged to convey shot and shell to top and turret. Splinter-nets were spread. The surgeons prepared instruments for their necessary work. Engineers set the polished machinery moving at full speed. The American vessels rush in-shore towards the enemy, the massive "Oregon" being the first to move.

Out came the "Maria Teresa," bearing the admiral's pennant, as well as the red and yellow flag of Spain. Then followed in line the "Vizcaya," "Cristobal Colon" and "Almirante Oquendo," and last the two destroyers, "Pluton" and "Terror." The Spanish plan seemed to be that the first two while trying to escape should, if necessary, attack and disable the "Brooklyn," while the "Colon" gave its undivided energies to flight, and the destroyers should assail the nearest American vessel. Admiral Sampson's orders had been, "If the enemy tries to escape, the ships must close and engage him as soon as possible and endeavor to sink his vessels or force them ashore." The American ships steamed for the Spanish without collision or fouling. The "Oregon" moved so fast that she passed the "Iowa" and "Texas" and approached the "Brooklyn." The Spaniards opened the fight with long-range guns, while the Morro and the land batteries fired towards the middle of the American fleet, perhaps trying to distract attention from the escaping ships. The first shot was an 11-inch shell from the "Maria Teresa," aimed at the "Brooklyn." The "Indiana" soon sent in return a shell which fell on the "Teresa's" deck. The "Brooklyn" was attacked by both the "Teresa" and the "Vizcaya." The latter flew a large silk flag, embroidered by the ladies of the province from which she received her name. When it was being torn to ribbons, Captain Eulate hauled it down and replaced it with another. His vessel made an attempt to ram the "Brooklyn," but the movement was observed and Commodore Schley caused the "Brooklyn" to swing around a complete ellipse until she was headed westward, meantime raking the "Vizcaya" as she passed. This skillful move-

ment, however, was afterwards misinterpreted and used as a charge against Schley's courage.

The "Oquendo" took fire from the effective shells of the "Iowa" and "Texas" and was turned toward the beach. Here, while she was burning, her unfortunate commander, Captain Juan B. Lazaga, committed suicide with a pistol. The "Vizcaya," taking warning by the fate of her consorts, attempted further flight. But one shell from the "Brooklyn" killed and wounded 80 men as it passed through. She also was set on fire and stood for the shore. When she ran aground she was blazing fore and aft. Her commander, already wounded, struck his colors. Orders were given to cease firing on her, and boats from the "Iowa" rescued many of her crew. When Captain Eulate was carried on board the "Iowa" he kissed his sword before offering it to Captain Evans in surrender. But "Fighting Bob" refused the sword and grasped the Spaniard's hand. The crew also cheered the brave Eulate.

The "Oregon," moving up rapidly, passed the "Texas" and "Iowa," and went to the help of the flagship. Though she still sent an occasional shell at the "Vizcaya," the "Brooklyn" kept on after the "Maria Teresa," which showed signs of serious injury. The "Oregon" engaged the "Vizcaya," behind which the "Cristobal Colon" was rapidly making her way, reserving her fire. Her captain, Emilio D. Moren, was considered the best commander in the Spanish fleet. He opened fire on the "Oregon" but did not desist from flight. The "Maria Teresa" was now plainly on fire, became unsteady in her movements, and was at last headed for the shore. The crew sprang overboard and endeavored to swim or float to the land. Admiral Cervera, in his pajamas, tried to escape on a raft, but was captured. The "Oquendo" had been left chiefly to the "Texas," a vessel which had been somewhat unfortunate in her early history. But now, when Captain Philip brought her into fair range of the Spanish ship, he stood coolly on the bridge until the danger was imminent, then sought the protection of the conning tower. Immediately afterwards a shell tore through the wheel-house. On the "Iowa" a shell started a fire, which was promptly sub-

duced; other shells struck her on the water-line, yet the damage was controlled; still another was found after the fight imbedded in her armor, yet unexploded. The Spanish torpedo-boat destroyers had made a dash at the "Texas" and "Iowa," but had been disabled and driven off before they could come near enough to inflict any injury. They ran under the protection of the shore, but were closely followed by the "Gloucester," a converted yacht, which had formerly, as the "Corsair," belonged to J. Pierpont Morgan. The "Gloucester" was commanded by Lieutenant-commander Richard Wainwright, who had been executive officer of the ill-fated "Maine." Only the poor gunnery of the Spaniards prevented them from destroying the "Gloucester," for their fire was fiercely maintained. But Wainwright kept steadily on their track. Suddenly a shot from the "Texas" struck the engine of the "Terror" just before she made the rocks. She sank quickly while her men were left struggling in the sea. The "Pluton" turned in an attempt to get back to Santiago, but was sunk by the "Gloucester" five miles from the Morro. Wainwright lowered his boats to rescue those floating in the waters, and even those who had reached the shore and were in danger from Cubans. Soon after 11 A.M. all the Spanish ships except one had surrendered or been destroyed.

The "Colon" dashed on in her desperate race, but the "Brooklyn," "Texas" and "Oregon" kept up a relentless pursuit. The "Colon" was originally a faster vessel than any of the pursuers, but in tropical waters the bottoms of vessels are soon fouled, and this diminishes their speed. There was also less efficiency in the fire and engine-room forces, so that the American vessels were able at last, after a fifty-miles' chase, to overtake the Colon. Shells from the Oregon and Brooklyn fell closely around her. She was beached before she surrendered at 1.23 P. M. Of all the cruisers she had suffered least.

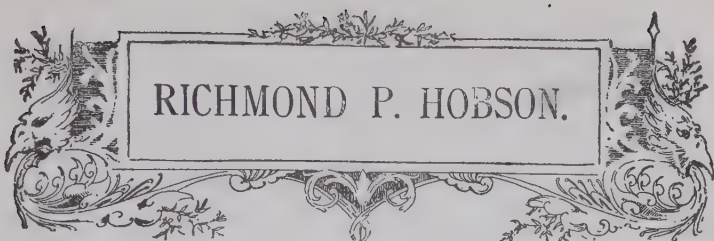
As soon as Admiral Sampson was notified of the attempt of Cervera to escape, he turned back from Siboney. All the boilers of the "New York" were put into action and she hastened with a final speed of 16½ knots to the scene of the great sea-fight for which her commander had made such abundant

preparations, and given such complete orders that his subordinates had only to execute them faithfully to accomplish the object of the whole expedition. He arrived only in time to witness the destruction of the Spanish fleet and throw a few finishing shots.

The board of naval officers which examined the Spanish hulls after the fight recommended that hereafter no torpedoes should be carried on cruisers and battleships, as they are not likely to be effectively used in battle, and yet are liable to be dangerous to their own side.

The American loss in this remarkable conflict was one man killed, George H. Ellis, of the "Brooklyn," and one man wounded. Although the "Brooklyn" was struck thirty-six times, and the other vessels repeatedly, there was little damage, even when heavy shells exploded. The fires they started were quickly extinguished. On the other hand the Spaniards suffered terribly in every way. In one instance a shell exploded in the engine-room, bursting the main steam-pipe. When no reply was received to orders sent to the engineer it was found that all in that part of the ship had been killed. The loss of the Spaniards was over 600 killed, besides the wounded. Many were drowned, and some were killed by Cubans on the shore. The wounded Spaniards in the American ships were treated with every consideration by surgeons, officers and seamen. A deep impression was made on these prisoners, most of them having expected far different treatment.

The battle showed the most wonderful contrast between the thorough efficiency of American training of both officers and crews and the complete inefficiency of the Spanish seamen and engine-room forces. The Spanish officers are well educated and capable, but the system of their naval administration is corrupt and rotten, rendering officers and ships helpless before a well-manned, well-equipped antagonist.



IN June, 1889, at the age of seventeen, Richmond Pearson Hobson graduated from the United States Naval Academy at the head of his class. It was a high honor for one so young. He was born at Greensboro, Alabama, of a family somewhat distinguished, and hoped to serve his country as some of his relatives had done. Little could he have anticipated that within nine years he whole country would be ringing with his name, and he would be the most admired young hero of a war with Spain.

Though the youngest of his class he had been the most diligent scholar, and became its senior officer. The best scholars are put into the staff and undertake special duties as civil engineers, astronomers and constructors of vessels, but are not allowed to command a vessel. Hobson became a naval constructor, and went abroad to pursue special study in the shipyards of England and France, because the art of naval construction was not then taught at Annapolis. After a time he urged that this branch should be taught there to post-graduates, and when such a school was established he was appointed its first professor. The new battle-ship is entirely different from the old style, and from the new merchant steamship. The whole art is experimental; the machinery is complicated and elaborate. There had been little opportunity to learn exactly how an armored vessel will behave in actual service, and especially in combat. Hobson therefore suggested that naval constructors should be sent to sea on cruising ships. This novel idea was after a time approved. Hence Hobson himself, in 1898, was ordered to the "New York," having no command, but simply to watch how vessels act in war. He became a special adviser to Admiral Sampson.

When Cervera's fleet was known to be moored in Santiago harbor Sampson sailed thither. The entrance to that harbor is narrow and tortuous. At its mouth the channel is but 400 feet wide. Hobson formed a plan to obstruct it, and thus prevent the escape of Cervera's fleet. The blockading fleet outside was liable to be dispersed by a hurricane, thus affording the enemy an outlet. Hobson suggested that a steam coaling vessel, over 300 feet long, loaded with 2,000 tons of coal, could be sunk right across the narrow channel. The vessel chosen had been purchased from Brazil, and renamed the "Merrimac." According to the plan an anchor was fastened at each end, and so arranged that both should be let go at once. Valves were set so as to let water into the vessel. A dozen torpedoes were fastened along the sides of the collier, and so placed that when exploded by electricity they would blow in the sides and break down the partitions dividing the vessel, thus causing it to sink immediately. The plan was fully approved by Admiral Sampson, who allowed Hobson, at his request, to carry it into execution. This was done on June 3, 1898, the second day after Sampson took command of the fleet at Santiago.

There had been more than sixty men employed on the "Merrimac," but Hobson selected a volunteer crew of six. So many offered their services from all the vessels of the fleet although the great peril of the enterprise was explained, that it was difficult to make a choice. One of the crew of the "Merrimac" did remain on board when his comrades left. It had been intended to attempt the enterprise on the night of June 2d, but the necessary preparations consumed so much time that it was postponed until the next night. All lights were extinguished on board the collier when she steamed directly into the channel which was exposed to the concentrated fire of several batteries of heavy guns. The men had been required to lie perfectly still, no matter what happened, until they got their orders. A raft had been provided for their escape when the vessel had been moored in position. As the "Merrimac" moved inshore it was detected by some scouting vessel, which gave the alarm, though in the darkness nothing could be clearly seen. Nevertheless, a hail of missiles fell

around the ship and knocked off some of the torpedoes. There was a direct horizontal fire from Spanish vessels, and a plunging fire from their forts. When the "Merrimac" reached the proper place, the anchors were let go. But the rudder had been carried away by a shot, so that the vessel did not swing around as had been intended. While his men were launching their raft, Hobson turned on the electric current and exploded the torpedoes. At the same time the "Merrimac" was struck by two Spanish torpedoes amidships, and sank immediately. Hobson's men scrambled on to their raft, but could not hope to escape. The Spanish picket-boats came out to explode, and the Americans were taken to the Spanish Admiral's flagship. Then they were committed to the Morro Castle, which defended the entrance. A steam launch which hovered on the outside watching for their emergence returned at 6 A.M. without information. When the "Merrimac" was sunk the Spaniards cheered wildly, thinking they had destroyed a blockading ship forcing its way in.

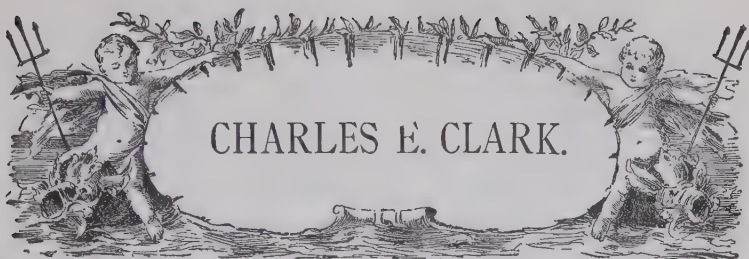
In the afternoon Admiral Cervera sent his chief of staff with a flag of truce and a letter extolling the bravery of the venturesome crew, and offering to carry to them clothing and any articles suitable. The seamen were questioned as to the object of their adventure, but refused to answer. While they were in the Morro ten of the American vessels bombarded the Spanish defences on June 6th. On the next day the prisoners were transferred to the city. They were released on July 6th, in exchange for Spanish prisoners.

For some time it was generally believed that the enterprise had been entirely successful in its main object—that of closing the harbor; but subsequent events dispelled this view without detracting from the heroism of the brave volunteers who had attempted it. On Hobson's release he was sent to Washington by Admiral Sampson to explain how the Spanish cruiser "Christobal Colon," and possibly the "Maria Teresa" could be saved for the United States navy. He was successful in obtaining authority to raise these wrecks. The "Maria Teresa" was towed to Guantanamo harbor in September and sent on a voyage to Norfolk, but was wrecked by a storm on

the way. In October Lieutenant Hobson attended the Peace Jubilee in Philadelphia and afterwards made a tour through the West, in which the young ladies showed their admiration effusively for the naval hero of the hour. He was ordered to the Philippines to examine and report upon the condition of the sunken vessels of the Spanish fleet. His report also urged the establishment of a shipyard and drydock at Manila for the United States vessels which had hitherto been obliged to resort to Hong Kong for any serious repairs.

Lieutenant Hobson is a typical example of the new American, highly trained and educated, mentally and physically, thoroughly imbued with patriotism and honor, capable of applying his attainments and moral force to new problems and emergencies as they arise.





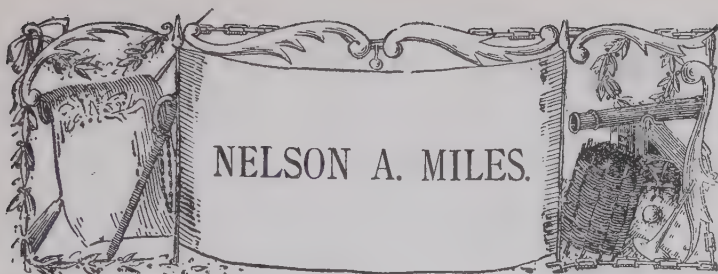
THE voyage of the battleship "Oregon" from San Francisco around Cape Horn was an interesting episode in the war with Spain. Its commander, Captain Clark, arrived in time to take part in the operations in Cuban waters. Charles Edgar Clark was born in Vermont, September 29, 1840. He entered the Naval Academy in 1860, and became ensign in October, 1863. He served in the West Gulf blockading squadron, and was with Farragut in the battle of Mobile Bay and the bombardment of Fort Morgan in August, 1864. In 1866 he became master, and served on the Pacific station. He was promoted lieutenant in 1867, and lieutenant-commander a year later. He was on the steamer "Suwanee" when it was wrecked in July, 1868. He afterwards served on the North Atlantic station, and was instructor in the Naval Academy. From 1874 to 1877 he was on the Asiatic Squadron, and afterwards had three years of shore duty. He became Commander in 1881, and commanded the steamer "Ranger" in the survey of the North Pacific from 1883 to 1886. Then followed four years as light-house inspector, and two as commander of Mare Island navy-yard. In June, 1896, he was made captain, and commanded the steamer "Monterey" until January, 1898. The battleship "Oregon," being then completed at San Francisco, Captain Clark was placed in command. She was in dry dock in Puget Sound in March when war with Spain was imminent. Captain Clark was ordered to bring his vessel around Cape Horn. He started on March 6th, stopped at San Francisco for coal, and left on the 19th for Callao, which he reached April 4th. The "Oregon" then proceeded to the Straits of Magellan, where a gale of extraordinary severity was encountered. At Punta Arenas the gunboat "Marietta"

joined her on April 17th. They sailed together to Rio Janeiro. At Bahia Captain Clark received orders on May 9th to look out for Cervera's fleet. Without mishap the "Oregon" arrived at Key West on May 26th, having steamed 17,500 miles. After coaling she was ready for further service, and was sent to the southern coast of Cuba.

The first service of the "Oregon" was in protecting the landing of some reinforcements on June 10th at Guantanamo, the outer harbor of which was used for coaling, and as a refuge in stormy weather. She was afterwards engaged in watching the harbor of Santiago, and took honorable part in the destruction of Cervera's fleet. After setting fire to one of the cruisers it joined in the pursuit of the "Cristobal Colon," and soon led the chase. The "Colon" was beached fifty miles west of Santiago, and surrendered to the "Brooklyn."

The "Oregon" went with Admiral Sampson's fleet to the North Atlantic Station. After its long sea service, it was taken to Newport News for general overhauling and repairs. Its famous commander was made a Rear-Admiral, and was designated in the summer of 1902, as the naval representative of the United States at the Coronation of Edward VII. Admiral Clark, however, declined the honor.





NELSON APPLETON MILES stands deservedly eminent among the officers who have risen to high position in the regular United States Army without being graduates of West Point. Though he served throughout the Civil War, he was chiefly distinguished as an Indian fighter. He was born at Westminister, Massachusetts, August 8, 1839. He was educated at a neighboring academy and had entered on mercantile pursuits in Boston when the Civil War began. He became a lieutenant in the Twenty-second Massachusetts infantry in September, 1861. He was engaged in McClellan's Peninsular Campaign and became adjutant-general of a brigade. In 1862 he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Sixty-first New York Volunteers, and after the battle of Antietam was made its colonel. He continued with the Army of the Potomac, fought at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. At the latter he received a severe wound, which at the time was supposed to be fatal. But he recovered and fought under Grant at the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, winning promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. He was distinguished in further campaigns until the capture of Richmond. He was mustered out of the volunteer service as major-general, but on July 28, 1866, was appointed colonel of the Fortieth Infantry regiment. The brevets of brigadier and major-general were conferred on him for his gallantry in the Civil War.

In March, 1869, General Miles was transferred to the Fifth Infantry. He defeated the Cheyenne and other Indians in Texas in 1875, and the hostile Sioux in Montana in 1876. He drove Sitting Bull across the Canada frontier after the massacre of Custer's command and broke up the bands that

were led by other chiefs. In September he captured the Nez Percés under Chief Joseph, who had been chased 1200 miles by General Howard. In 1878 General Miles captured a band of Bannocks, near Yellowstone Park. He was commissioned brigadier-general in December, 1880. For five years he commanded the Department of the Columbia, then was assigned the Department of the Missouri, and a year later the Department of Arizona. Here from April to September, 1886, he carried on a difficult campaign against the Apaches under Geronimo, whom he compelled to surrender, though granting pardon to him and his followers for past crimes. For settling these Indian troubles General Miles received the thanks of the territorial legislatures. In 1888 General Miles was placed in command of the Department of the Pacific.

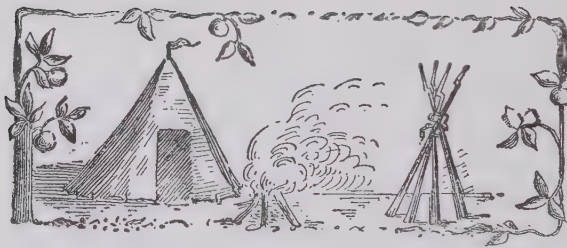
In September, 1895, when General John M. Schofield retired, General Miles succeeded to the command of the United States Army. He then removed to Washington. On the outbreak of the war with Spain General Miles was active in preparing plans, which, however, were not approved by the Secretary of War. General Miles suggested to send arms and ammunition to the insurgent Cubans and to fit out an expedition ostensibly against Cuba, but really against Porto Rico. By seizing this, the easternmost of the Antilles, the whole archipelago would be commanded against Spain. Then a cavalry force could be landed in central Cuba, thus dividing the Spanish forces. With the aid of the natives the Spaniards could be driven from the provincial towns. After the rainy season a powerful army, well organized, drilled and disciplined, could move westward to Havana, which would be taken by a combined land and sea attack. However plausible this plan may appear, the actual events proved far otherwise. Trusting to information from Admiral Sampson that Santiago, where Cervera's fleet was bottled up, could be readily taken, the Fifth Army corps, chiefly composed of regular troops, was sent thither, and by sheer bravery captured El Caney and San Juan Hill on the outskirts of Santiago. Then Cervera's fleet attempted to escape and was destroyed. Before the city was surrounded General Miles went to the vicinity, but did not interfere with General

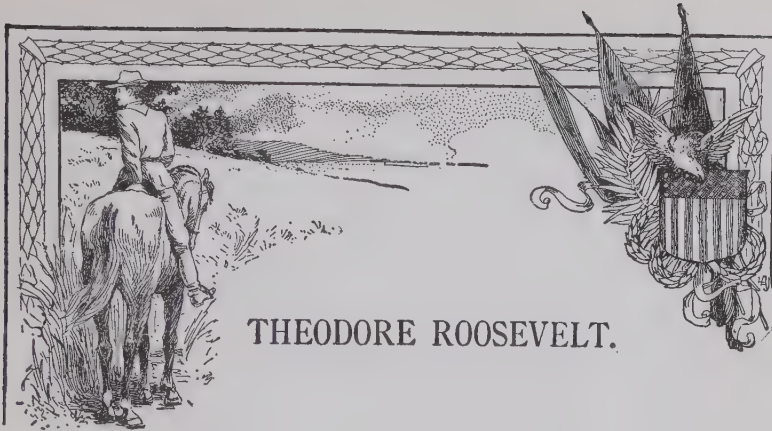
Shafter's arrangements. These resulted in the surrender of Santiago on July 17th. But before that date General Miles had sailed with some of the regular troops for Porto Rico. Instead of landing on the north side, as had been announced, he went to the south and landed at Puerto de Guanica on July 25th. No opposition was encountered, and three days later Ponce, the second town in size on the island, capitulated. Other expeditions were on their way to Porto Rico, but General Miles set out to cross the island with sufficient force to overawe the Spanish defenders. The natives gladly welcomed the invaders. When approaching San Juan a battle was expected, for the Spaniards had obstructed the way. But just as the lines were formed a messenger, galloping in hot haste, brought news of the declaration of peace. General Miles turned over the command to General John R. Brooke, who came with reinforcements. General Miles returned to the United States.

There had already been considerable complaint about the bad management of the War Department in the movement of the troops, the location of the camps, and the abuses of the commissary and medical bureaus. These had resulted in excessive sickness and mortality, which threatened to destroy the army in Cuba. It became evident that General Miles was entirely ignored in fitting out and moving the army, orders being issued by the Secretary of War through Adjutant-General H. C. Corbin without the commanding General's knowledge. The Inspector-General, Joseph C. Breckenridge, also found himself entirely ignored and was left with nothing to do at a time when his services were most necessary for the well-being of the soldiers and preservation of the strength of the army.

General Miles, on his return from Porto Rico, vigorously denounced the "embalmed beef" and other unfit supplies, which nauseated the soldiers and sapped their vitality. Thus he provoked a controversy with Brigadier-General Charles P. Eagan, the commissary general of the United States army. The result was a court of inquiry, which investigated the whole question of the supplies. Although the members had been selected by the War Department so as to favor its man-

agement as much as possible, the court condemned Eagan's methods and recommended his suspension. The President suspended him from service for six years, but in consideration of many years of honorable service, allowed him to retain his pay. This lame and impotent conclusion increased the popular indignation against the management of the War Department. In July, 1899, General R. A. Alger was induced to resign as Secretary of War. He was succeeded by Elihu Root, who immediately entered into communication with General Miles, and restored him to the proper control of the army.





THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

OF the many types of American citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century perhaps the most picturesque is seen in Theodore Roosevelt. He exhibits a rare combination of many elements of the national character. Born on October 27, 1858, of a good old Knickerbocker family, in the commercial metropolis of the nation, and educated in the classical atmosphere of Harvard University, he was yet early attracted to the free life of the Western plains and became a thorough ranchman and hunter of big game. None the less his scholarly inclinations led him to study the early history of border civilization, and to present it in readable volumes, illumined by his own experiences.

In 1882 Roosevelt first entered the New York State legislature, and two years later he was a member of the National Republican Convention. There he supported the claims of Senator George F. Edmunds for the Presidency against James G. Blaine. Yet when Blaine was nominated he acquiesced and adhered steadily to the party when other reformers deserted the cause. In 1886 Henry George made his first spirited campaign for the mayoralty of New York, Roosevelt was the Republican candidate, but Abram S. Hewitt, the Democratic candidate, won the prize after a vigorous contest. Roosevelt then occupied his time in historical researches on the naval war of 1812 and the development of the Western States. But he was ever on the alert for opportunities to en-

gage in present politics, insisting that city, State, and country had need of the best energies of their best men. President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, and in this post he labored with diligence for nearly six years. He had the satisfaction of seeing his work in this cause generally commended by the intelligent public. In 1894 the greedy tyranny of Tammany Hall was overthrown in New York city. Roosevelt was then called to be President of the Board of Police Commissioners under the reform administration of Mayor William L. Strong. With characteristic energy he devoted himself to the arduous duties of this position and won the favor not only of the people, but of the force he controlled. In 1897 when President McKinley was inaugurated, Roosevelt was called to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Much of the efficiency of the navy in the Spanish war which came a year later was due directly to his thorough preparation of the vessels and their equipment.

But when the war came in April, 1898, the active huntsman could not be contented with the sedentary work of a bureau official. Resigning his position, he announced his purpose to form a cavalry regiment of Rough Riders from those accustomed to the wild life of the plains, whether college athletes or hardy cowboys. Some of the most vigorous of the police force of New York also gladly sought place in the ranks under their former superior. The regiment was enlisted as the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, and the command was given to Dr. Leonard Wood, who was a graduate of West Point, while Roosevelt became lieutenant colonel. When these troops made their way from Chickamauga to Tampa, Florida, where they expected to embark, they found a state of dire confusion prevailing. The single track railroad was utterly unable to meet the demands for transportation. All the army departments had broken down under the sudden strain of the emergency. In the grand scramble which ensued, the strenuous efforts of Colonel Roosevelt secured for his men whatever accommodations and supplies could be obtained. Men and horses were embarked, but instead of sailing immediately for Cuba as had been intended, they were detained on account of reports of the ap-

proach of Admiral Cervera's squadron to the West Indies. At last they were allowed to proceed, and the path of the fleet was marked by the floating carcasses of the horses which had been stifled in the over-crowded transports. On June 24th the Rough Riders and other cavalry landed at Siboney without their horses. In spite of the heat they pushed towards Sevilla on the way to San Juan. The road was but a narrow path through dense chaparral. Suddenly at Las Guasimas they were surprised by a sharp fire from an unseen foe. Hamilton Fish and other brave soldiers were killed. It was supposed to be an ambushade, but later accounts show that some of the Spanish garrison of Siboney had stopped to fire a few shots at the Americans, and then continued their retreat. The dismounted cavalry soon resumed their toilsome march and entered a wider road to Santiago. But this was already over-crowded, and it was with difficulty they got to the foot of San Juan hill. This steep eminence was crowned with a stone fort, defended by a good battery. The Americans, huddled together, became an easy prey for the Spanish Mauters. Military authorities had pronounced it impossible to take such a fort without artillery, and the big guns had been left in the ships. After a wearisome delay the order was given to climb the heights. In small squads here and there they worked their way up, Rough Riders and regulars, white and colored, all with equal bravery. Many fell, but a goodly number gained the crest and drove the astounded Spaniards from their guns and out of the fort. The Spanish General Linares coming to the rescue was wounded and disabled. The Spaniards made efforts during the night to drive off the captors, but in vain, though the men were suffering from want of provisions. San Juan remained in the possession of the Rough Riders until Santiago surrendered, July 17th.

Then the deadly climate began to tell upon the volunteers and even the more hardy regulars, now debilitated by insufficient and improper food. When the death list grew appalling, on August 3d, a round robin was drawn up by all the officers of the expedition and presented to General Shafter. It said: "This army must be moved at once or perish," that it must be taken out of Cuba and sent to some point on the

northern sea coast of the United States, or it would be destroyed by an epidemic of yellow fever. Colonel Roosevelt added a stronger letter on his own account. He had succeeded to the command of the cavalry brigade when Colonel Wood was promoted brigadier general and placed in command of the city of Santiago. The War Department, stirred to prompt action, sent transports at once and the troops were removed to Montauk Point, Long Island.

While still discharging his duty as colonel, Roosevelt was nominated as the Republican candidate for governor of New York. When peace with Spain was assured, he entered vigorously on his new campaign. In spite of the strenuous efforts of his opponents he was elected by a large majority, and was assured of support by the legislature in his work for reform. His administration was characterized by the same unremitting zeal and industry which he had shown in every previous public position. His vigorous personality, his high sense of public duty, and his unimpeachable probity, had by this time made him the foremost man of his years in the United States.

Thus it was in every way natural that the managers of the Republican party, in casting about for a strong candidate to take the Vice-Presidential place with Mr. McKinley on the 1900 ticket, should turn enthusiastically to the young Governor of New York whose varied and successful career had already made him well known and popular in so many different sections of the country. Mr. Roosevelt did not desire the nomination:—there can be no doubt upon that point. His work as Governor had only just begun: he had many plans for his term in that office, and he earnestly wished to remain and carry them out. The quiet routine of the Vice-Presidency seemed to offer no such opportunities for work—and work is what Theodore Roosevelt has always sought. But the urgings and arguments of his party leaders prevailed: the candidates thus reluctantly appearing before the Convention, was accepted with tremendous enthusiasm.

The campaign of 1900 was an active one, and, as a matter of course, Mr. Roosevelt bore his full part. His

exciting "stumping" tour through the western states was one of the features of the canvass. McKinley and Roosevelt were unqualifiedly successful in the November elections, and they were sworn into office, as President and Vice-President respectively, on March 4, 1901.

On September 2, 1901, the Vice-President made a speech of unusual importance at the Minnesota State Fair, at Minneapolis. Its fine ethical spirit and its direct, honest, political recommendations attracted wide attention and approval. It was a decided stand for governmental oversight, and, if necessary, control of great business corporations or trusts, and for frankness and honesty in international intercourse, as aids to "that self-respecting peace, the attainment of which is, and must ever be, the prime aim of a self-governing people." Roosevelt advocated the maintenance of the Munroe Doctrine, and, in regard to the conditions in the Philippines, said, "We are not trying to subjugate a people, — we are trying to develop them, and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and, we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people." Four days after this significant declaration of national policy, Mr. Roosevelt was summoned to Buffalo by the shooting of the President.

When Mr. McKinley's recovery was declared to be almost certain, the Vice-President left Buffalo, on the 11th, to join his family in the Adirondacks. But on the 13th, messages were sent post haste after him. From the depths of the woods he came back, on foot, by buckboard, and by special train, hastening to meet this sudden and tremendous crisis in his own, and in the nation's life. Theodore Roosevelt reached Buffalo the morning of the 14th, a few hours after McKinley had passed away, and he at once took the oath of office as President of the United States. When Secretary Root made the customary formal request that the oath might be administered, Mr. Roosevelt made this answer, "I shall take the oath at once in response to your request: and in this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of

President McKinley for the peace and prosperity of our beloved country." In this intention Mr. Roosevelt has persisted, to the utmost degree permitted by the varying temperaments of the two men.

Theodore Roosevelt came to his great office in the most sad and tragic way in which it could be reached: the unexpected way through a terrible national calamity. He found the country, however, more free of party strife than it had been at any period since the time of Munroe, perhaps since that of Washington, and he inspired public confidence from the beginning by his wise and conservative attitude. An accurate barometer of the general state of mind was the extraordinary steadiness of the stock-market. The entire McKinley cabinet was retained, and the business of government went on without a break.

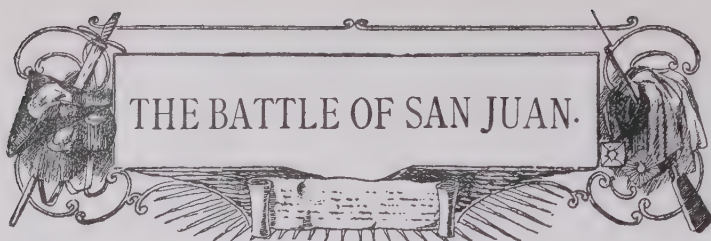
The first message of the new chief executive was anxiously awaited, and was received with general satisfaction. The policy indicated was, in accordance with Mr. Roosevelt's earlier statement, as closely as possible that of his predecessor in office; and the sections on the trusts, the currency question and the Isthmian Canal were especially vigorous and characteristic. The President's first Cabinet appointment, made in December, was that of Governor Leslie M. Shaw of Iowa to succeed Mr. Gage who retired in January from the treasury portfolio. Roosevelt's fairness of mind and freedom from political bigotry was early instanced by the appointment of an able Alabama Democrat, Jones, as Federal Judge. He early took a decided stand in favor of aid for Cuba, and the people have since come splendidly to his support.

The first year of the Roosevelt administration was one full of activities. The visit of Prince Henry of Prussia was of especial interest and importance: the President's state dinner to him at the White House was given February 24, 1902. In the spring Secretary Long retired from the Navy Department, and the President appointed W. H. Moody of Massachusetts, in his place. A visit was paid in April to the Exposition at Charleston, S. C. The frightful Martinique catastrophe in May, 1902, caused

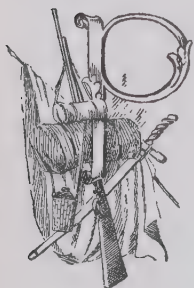
Roosevelt to take characteristically swift measures for the relief of the sufferers. "Red tape" was cut most effectively, a cruiser with stores was despatched at short notice, and Congress was promptly called upon for an appropriation of \$500,000.

In June, 1902, the President attended the West Point Centennial, and went to Cambridge to receive the degree of LL.D. from Harvard: — the same degree had already been conferred upon him by Yale the previous October. His Fourth of July speech at Pittsburg contained his statement that reciprocity with Cuba was coming "as sure as fate." In the latter part of the summer of 1902, Roosevelt visited all the New England States, speaking in a great number of towns and cities. On September 3, as he was driving out of Pittsfield, Mass., his carriage was struck by an electric car. His Secret-Service guard, William Craig, was killed, but the President fortunately escaped with slight bruises, as did Governor Crane of Massachusetts, and Secretary Cortelyou who were with him.

Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-sixth President of the United States, is practically the only American of recent times who, from his youth up, has given himself almost wholly to public service. He has made it a career: all his life he has been in preparation for the great office to which he has come. Yet in his training for the Presidency he has done many things outside of politics and notable in themselves: his reputation as a literary man is of a high order; as a soldier he won a real fame; he is a sportsman of the finest, truest type. An unswerving believer in American institutions, his temperament is in keeping with the active era in which he lives and works.



THE BATTLE OF SAN JUAN.



RIOR to the commencement of the battle of San Juan General J. Ford Kent had about 4000 men in three brigades. On the afternoon of June 30th he moved Pearson's and Wikoff's brigades forward about two miles on the Santiago road. Here the troops bivouacked, Hawkins's brigade remaining slightly in the rear of corps headquarters.

On July 1st at 7 A. M., Kent rode forward to the hill where Captain Grimes's battery was in position, having previously given the necessary orders for Hawkins's brigade to move early, to be followed in turn by Wikoff and Pearson. Shortly after Grimes's battery opened fire about 250 yards from El Pozo sugar-house, and the enemy's artillery replied. Kent allowed the dismounted cavalry the right of way, but they moved up very slowly. General Hawkins went forward to observe the enemy's position from the front. When Kent rode forward the fire of the enemy's sharpshooters was distinctly felt. Crossing the main ford of the San Juan river he joined General Hawkins, and observed the enemy's position in advance of the ford. General Hawkins deemed it possible to turn the enemy's right at Fort San Juan; but later, under the heavy fire, this was found impracticable for Hawkins's brigade, yet it was accomplished by the Third Brigade coming up later. Kent returning directed Hawkins's brigade to move alongside the cavalry, which was halted. They were already suffering losses caused by a balloon near by attracting fire and disclosing their position.

The enemy's infantry fire, steadily increasing in intensity, now came from all directions, not only from the front and the dense tropical thickets on the flanks, but also from sharpshooters posted in trees in the rear, and from shrapnel apparently

aimed at the balloon. A trail or narrow way was discovered from the balloon a short distance back, leading to the left, to a ford lower down the stream. By it the Seventy-first New York regiment and Hawkins's brigade made their way. This would have speedily delivered them in their proper place on the left of their brigade, but under the galling fire of the enemy the leading battalion of this regiment was thrown into confusion and recoiled in disorder on the troops in rear. At this critical moment the staff officers practically formed a cordon behind the panic-stricken men and urged them to again go forward. Finally they were ordered to lie down in the thicket and clear the way for others of their own regiment who were coming up behind. This many of them did, and the second and third battalions came forward in better order and moved along the road toward the fort.

An officer ran back waving his hat to hurry forward the Third Brigade. Owing to the congested condition of the road, the progress of the narrow columns was, however, painfully slow. The head of Wikoff's brigade reached the forks at 12.20 P. M., and hurried to the left and stepped over the prostrate forms of the Seventy-first. This heroic brigade (consisting of the Thirteenth, Ninth and Twenty-fourth United States Infantry) speedily crossed the stream and were quickly deployed to the left of the lower ford.

The Third Brigade, in crossing the ford, lost in the brief space of ten minutes its gallant commander, Colonel Wikoff, who was killed, and then the next two ranking officers, who were wounded. Yet in spite of these disasters the brave soldiers made their formations without hesitation, under a stinging fire. The companies moved sometimes singly and sometimes in battalions, rushing through the jungle, across the stream waist-deep, and over the wide ascent, thickly set with barbed-wire entanglements.

The Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel E. P. Pearson, deserves not less credit for its courage and soldierly conduct. The Tenth and Second Infantry, soon arriving at the forks, were deflected to the left to follow the Third Brigade, while the Twenty-first was directed along the main road to support Hawkins. Crossing the lower ford a few minutes

later, the Tenth and Second moved forward in column and good order toward a green knoll as the objective on the left. Approaching the knoll, the regiments deployed, passed over it, and ascended the high ridge beyond, driving back the enemy in the direction of his trenches.

Prior to this advance of the Second Brigade, the Third, connecting with Hawkins's gallant troops on the right, had moved toward Fort San Juan, sweeping through a zone of most destructive fire, scaling a steep and difficult hill, and assisting in capturing the enemy's strong position, Fort San Juan, at 1.30 P.M. This crest was about 125 feet above the general level, and was defended by deep trenches and a loopholed brick fort, surrounded by barbed-wire entanglements. The capture of the hill was due to the Sixth, Ninth, Thirteenth, Sixteenth and Twenty-fourth regiments of infantry. The Thirteenth Infantry captured the enemy's colors waving over the fort, but unfortunately destroyed them distributing the fragments among the men, because, as it was asserted, "it was a bad omen," two or three men having been shot while assisting the captor. The greatest credit is due to the officers who directed the formation of their troops, unavoidably intermixed in the dense thicket, and made the desperate rush for the distant and strongly-defended crest.

The Spaniards in and around Fort San Juan were astounded at the daring of the Americans in forcing their way up the hill in spite of the natural and artificial difficulties, and the terrible fire of the defenders. Driven from their guns they were compelled to retreat, though reinforcements were brought to their aid by General Linares, the commander of Santiago. This brave officer was wounded in the right arm, while urging on his troops. The Spaniards retired in order, and retained positions only a few hundred yards distant. During the next night they made determined efforts to retake the hill, but in vain, though the frequent alarms severely tried the endurance of its captors.

General Wheeler had ordered the position to be entrenched, but on account of the rocky ground this was difficult. Several of the officers believed that the line was too far advanced for the exhausted men to be properly supplied, and urged that

they be withdrawn to a strong position some distance back. Though General Kent agreed in this view, General Wheeler disapproved it, and when a council of war was held two days later four out of the five generals voted to remain. The situation was, indeed, critical. The base of supplies was at Siboney, seven miles off; the line of communication being a narrow road, hardly suitable at the best for wagons, and liable to be rendered impassable by the heavy rains. The climate was sickly, and told severely on the exhausted, ill-supplied soldiers. There was also fear that a storm might drive the vessels with stores out to sea, leaving the army destitute. There was also information that General Pasedo, with 8,000 reinforcements, was on his way to Santiago. Yet under these adverse circumstances General Shafter, who had himself been ill, wisely decided to maintain the positions taken, and thus assured the speedy capture of Santiago.

GENERAL WHEELER'S REPORT.

After the engagements of June 24th I pushed forward my command through the valley, Lawton's and Kent's commands occupying the hills in the vicinity of that place. After two days' rest Lawton was ordered forward, and on the night of June 30th instructions were given by Major-General Shafter to this officer to attack Caney, while the cavalry division and Kent's division were ordered to move forward on the regular Santiago roads. The movement commenced on the morning of July 1st. The cavalry division advanced and formed its line with its left near the Santiago road, while Kent's division formed its line with the right joining the left of the cavalry division.

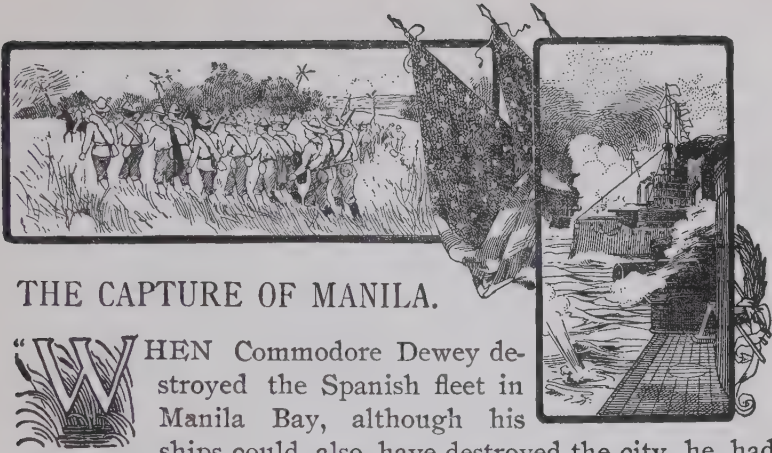
Colonel McClernand, of General Shafter's staff, directed me to give instructions to General Kent, which I complied with in person, at the same time personally directing General Sumner to move forward. The men were all compelled to wade the San Juan River to get into line. This was done under very heavy fire of both infantry and artillery. Our balloon, having been sent up right by the main road, was made a mark of by the enemy. It was evident that we were as much under fire in forming the line as we would be by an advance, and I therefore pressed the command forward from the opening under which it was formed. It emerged into open space in full view of the enemy, who occupied breastworks and batteries on the crest of the

hill which overlooks Santiago, officers and men falling at every step.

The troops advanced gallantly, soon reached the foot of the hill and ascended, driving the enemy from their works and occupying them on the crest of the hill. To accomplish this required courage and determination on the part of the officers and men of a high order, and the losses were very severe. Too much credit cannot be given to General Sumner and General Kent and their gallant brigade commanders, Colonel Wood and Colonel Carroll of the cavalry; General Hamilton S. Hawkins, commanding First Brigade, Kent's division, and Colonel Pearson, commanding Second Brigade. Colonel Carroll and Major Wessels were both wounded during the charge, but Major Wessels was enabled to return and resume command. Colonel Wikoff, commanding Kent's Third Brigade, was killed at 12.10; Lieutenant-Colonel Worth took command, and was wounded at 12.15; Lieutenant-Colonel Liscum then took command, and was wounded at 12.20, and the command then devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Ewers, Ninth Infantry.

Upon reaching the crest I ordered breastworks to be constructed, and sent to the rear for shovels, picks, spades and axes. The enemy's retreat from the bridge was precipitate, but our men were so thoroughly exhausted that it was impossible for them to follow. Their shoes were soaked with water by wading the San Juan River, they had become drenched with rain, and when they reached the crest they were absolutely unable to proceed farther. Notwithstanding this condition these exhausted men labored during the night to erect breastworks, furnish details to bury the dead and carry the wounded back in improvised litters. I sent word along the line that reinforcements would reach us, and that Lawton would join our right, and that General Bates would come up and strengthen our left.

After reaching the crest of the ridge General Kent sent the Thirteenth Regulars to assist in strengthening our right. At midnight General Bates reported, and I placed him in a strong position on the left of our line. General Lawton had attempted to join us from Caney, but when very near our lines he was fired upon by the Spaniards and turned back, but joined us next day at noon by a circuitous route.—JOSEPH WHEELER.



THE CAPTURE OF MANILA.

WHEN Commodore Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, although his ships could also have destroyed the city, he had not men enough to take possession of it. He was obliged to wait for soldiers, guns and supplies. The Filipino insurgents forced back the Spaniards into Manila, but were not able to take the city. They were allowed by Admiral Dewey to occupy the territory around it. In the interval of waiting for an American army, there grew up a strong distrust of Aguinaldo, the self-appointed dictator of the Philippines. The American officers were instructed not to recognize the republic which he proclaimed.

On May 16, 1898, General Wesley Merritt was assigned to the command of the Department of the Pacific, with temporary headquarters at San Francisco. Here the volunteers from the Western States were to be assembled, equipped and drilled for the new and strange campaign in tropical islands. But General Merritt when appointed to lead the expedition to the Philippines had insisted on a force of 20,000 men, with a due proportion of regulars. The first expedition of about 2500 men sailed on May 25th, under the command of General Thomas M. Anderson; the second, under General Francis V. Greene, sailed on June 15th; the third, under General Arthur MacArthur, on June 27th. General Merritt himself sailed on June 29th, with four regular batteries of artillery and the Astor battery, furnished by John Jacob Astor, and composed of young men of wealth and education. Other expeditions followed at later dates, when transports were obtained.

It had been reported to Washington that Admiral Camara's fleet, which sailed from Spain through the Mediterranean to

Port Said at the entrance of the Suez Canal, was destined for the Philippines. The voyage of General Merritt's transports became a race to reach Manila before the new Spanish fleet. They reached Honolulu July 7th and took on coal. The "Newport," with General Merritt on board, steamed ahead at high speed and entered Manila Bay on July 25th. As the city came in view foreign warships were seen in front with the American fleet closer blockading the city. The new arrival was greeted with salutes and cheers. The rainy season had set in, and caused considerable difficulty in disembarking the troops and unloading the supplies. Native boats, built high at both ends, were used as lighters and proved hard to manage. Then the life-boats of the transports and cutters of the warships were brought into service. Strung together they were towed three miles up to the breakers by some small gunboats taken from the Spaniards, after which they had to struggle through the heavy surf.

Manila had now been blockaded by Admiral Dewey three months. General Anderson, who had arrived first with land forces, had his headquarters at Cavite, and General Greene was encamped nearer Manila. General MacArthur had not yet arrived, and the artillery brought by the "Newport" was assigned to General Greene. The Spanish line of defence completely encircled the city. It passed through many swamps and rice-fields. The Filipinos, under Aguinaldo, numbered 12,000 men, well supplied with arms. They had camps and trenches opposed to the Spaniards at various points, and in some places between the American and the Spanish lines. The uncertainty of Aguinaldo's attitude and intentions had increased, as he avoided direct consultations and sent friendly messages through subordinates but furnished very little assistance. At last he protested against the landing of American troops in places conquered by his troops without previous notice to his government. General Merritt, therefore, avoided all communication with him, as tending to produce embarrassment in the military operations.

It was expected that the city of Manila would be surrendered as soon as its situation was seen to be hopeless. But the strong feeling of honor which dominates Spanish soldiers

inspired them still to hold out. General Merritt's troops being outnumbered by both the Spanish and the Filipinos, he thought it best to await the arrival of General MacArthur's reinforcements. Admiral Dewey was unwilling to bombard the town, as he had no armored ships in his squadron, and the heavy guns in front of the city walls could do great damage. The Spaniards were inclined to surrender to the Americans rather than to the insurgents, and the latter, though eager to gain the city, were unwilling to offend the Americans, from whom they still hoped to secure recognition. In order that the American lines might be brought nearer the city, Aguinaldo was requested to withdraw the insurgent force from between General Greene's brigade and the Spanish lines. When this request was complied with, somewhat reluctantly, the insurgent trenches were occupied by the Americans, and a new line constructed 100 yards beyond. The Americans thus commanded all the roads in their front.

The Spanish defences began at Fort San Antonio near the beach and extended eastward by three-quarters of a mile to a blockhouse, which flanked General Greene's position. A strong force of infantry, with sufficient artillery, held this line. The forward movement of the Americans, in spite of the rain and mud, roused the Spaniards to make a fierce attack with both artillery and infantry on the night of July 31st. The night was terribly stormy, but the small force of infantry and artillery in the trenches maintained themselves until reinforcements arrived. The attack continued for an hour and a half longer. The Tenth Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by the gallant Colonel H. S. Hawkins, was the most exposed, as it held the right of the intrenchments. Though the firing was heavy on both sides and a vast amount of ammunition was expended, the American loss was only ten killed and thirty-five wounded. The smallness of casualties was probably due to the darkness and the rain. The Spaniards renewed these attacks every night for a week, causing a further loss of five men killed. As the trenches were kept half filled with water by the steady rains, those who labored in their construction suffered severely. The cruiser "Raleigh" was ready to assist the troops if they should be in danger of being driven from

the trenches, but it was considered advisable not to attack the Spanish fort lest a general engagement should be precipitated.

On July 31st General MacArthur's brigade arrived and was landed as quickly as possible. There were now about 8500 men in position for attack, with General Anderson in command. On August 7th Admiral Dewey and General Merritt notified the Spanish Governor, General Jaudenes, that the city might be bombarded after forty-eight hours or earlier if the Spanish firing on the trenches was continued. The notice had the desired effect. Two days later a formal demand was made for the surrender of the city, but the Governor-General replied that he could not yield the place without consulting the government at Madrid, which would require time. But the Americans were unwilling to expose their forces longer to the unhealthy conditions of the trenches.

The time had come for the final attack, yet the Americans were desirous to spare the city the horrors of an actual bombardment. It was, therefore, agreed by Admiral Dewey and General Merritt, that the naval forces should first try to dismount the guns on Fort San Antonio and level the Spanish works; then the flagship should demand the surrender; if this was not granted, the ships should still forbear to shell the town, until the army had made its attempt at capture. At 9 A.M. on August 13th, Dewey's fleet steamed slowly from Cavite towards Manila, and at 9.40 the "Olympia" discharged two shells at the Malate fort. No reply being made, the "Olympia," "Raleigh" and "Petrel" opened a hot fire on the Spanish intrenchments and fort. Before the firing had ceased, some of General Greene's troops on the left of the American line advanced from their trenches and moved along the beach. They were partly protected by a steady fire from another column, moving further inland. They swam or waded through the creek in front of the fort, and entered the enclosure only to find it deserted. The other column also found the trenches deserted. The Colorado regiment, who were the first to enter the fort, lowered the Spanish flag, and raised the stars and stripes. They were soon joined by the First California Regiment. The Eighteenth Regular Infantry in moving towards the abandoned trenches flanking the fort,



THE SHRIEK OF THE SHRAPNEL

were assailed by a sharp fire from the woods to the right. The smokeless powder used by the Spaniards, made it difficult to locate their exact position. After volleys were discharged towards the woods, the regulars gained the trenches by rushing forward. The Third Artillery then occupied the trenches on the extreme right.

The Colorado and California troops next moved towards Fort Malate, but were met by a strong fire from the road leading from Malate to Singalon. This was soon subdued, and the Americans already engaged, proceeded by the Calle Real, while the Nebraska troops marched by the beach. Having passed through Malate, they were annoyed by a straggling fire, and reached the defences nearest to the walled city about 1 P.M. Here they found a white flag displayed, and were informed that negotiations for surrender were in progress. At the Paco road General Greene had met about 1,000 Spaniards, who were probably those that had annoyed the Americans marching through Malate. They now surrendered and were ordered inside the city. The Filipino insurgents then came up to the walls of the city, expecting to be allowed to enter and raise their flag. As they continued to use their arms against the Spaniards on the city wall, the latter sometimes returned their fire. The Americans therefore were obliged to restrain the insurgents by force.

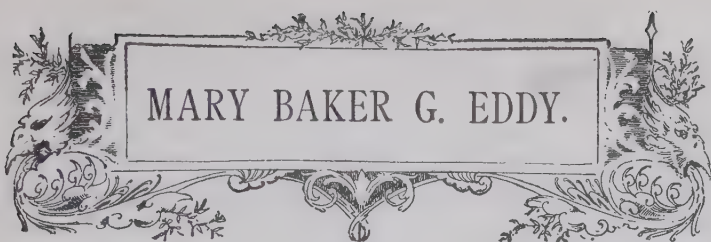
General MacArthur's troops occupied the right of the American line. Before the naval attack had ceased, the Astor battery engaged in a sharp conflict with an opposing battery, and a Utah battery assailed the block-house without evoking a reply. When it was reported that Fort Malate had been captured, the abandoned block-house was entered and the American flag raised. Precautions were taken against a forward movement of the Filipinos. MacArthur's brigade advanced by the Pasay road and encountered a scattering fire, similar to that which annoyed Greene's advance. The principal opposition was at a block-house in the village of Singalon, which was held by a strong detachment. Some Americans had pushed forward within eighty yards before they were obliged to retire. Others sheltered themselves behind the village church and stone walls, while still directing their fire

on the block-house. Finally the brave Spaniards gave up the fight, after an engagement of an hour and a half. This was the last stand of the enemy. MacArthur's troops marched through Paco and entered the city of Manila. The American loss during the day was 6 killed and 43 wounded, but there had already been 14 killed and 60 wounded in the trenches.

While the army was advancing on the city, M. Andre, the Belgian consul, was sent by the Captain General to notify Admiral Dewey of his willingness to surrender. Representatives of the army and navy arranged the terms and the white flag was raised on the city walls. General Merritt, who had kept his headquarters on the "Newport" so as to be in close correspondence with Admiral Dewey, then went on shore and made his headquarters at the Governor-General's palace. No American soldiers had yet entered the walled city, which was swarming with Spanish troops, coming in from the trenches to deposit their arms. There was no disorder, but perfect civility towards the Americans. The Second Oregon regiment, who came by sea from Cavite to act as provost guard, arrived after 5 P.M. Then the Spanish colors were hauled down, the American flag raised and saluted.

The Filipinos were greatly disappointed that the city was not turned over to them, and the Spaniards had been afraid of a general massacre if this were done. Aguinaldo had possession of the water-works, and for a week refused to allow water to flow into the city. After considerable trouble the Filipinos yielded to a show of force. General Merritt issued a proclamation to the people of the Philippines, declaring the intention of the United States to protect them. Three days later a cablegram was received announcing that the protocol had been signed and that the President had ordered a cessation of hostilities.





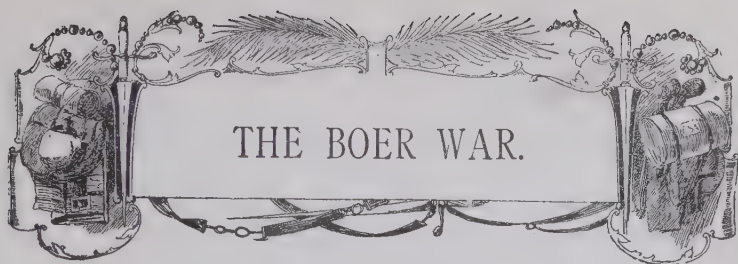
IN the year 1875 there came from the press a volume which was the result of years of study and earnest meditation on the part of a spiritual-minded, highly-gifted woman, born and reared in the religious atmosphere of New England. The volume was called "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," and its author was Mary Baker G. Eddy, the recognized leader of the most remarkable religious movement of modern times.

Mrs. Eddy was born in Sanbornton Bridge, now Tilton, N. H., about eighty years ago. She is of English and Scotch ancestry. The Bakers were well-to-do and well-educated people. Mrs. Eddy's brother, Albert Baker, one of the most thorough scholars ever graduated from Dartmouth College, received the Congressional nomination by a very large majority, but died before the election: a sister and another brother were talented to a degree above the ordinary. Mrs. Eddy herself was a very attractive girl, designated by the pastor of the Orthodox Church, of which she was a member, as possessed, even in her earliest years, of superior ability, purity, depth and independence of thought.

The principles of the doctrine of metaphysical healing with which Mrs. Eddy is identified were formulated in 1866, though "Science and Health" was not published until nine years afterward. Christian Science is a religious system which proposes to work out the salvation of mortals through the application of scientific rules of right based upon Christ's teaching. In 1879 she founded the first Christian Science Church, and two years later she

opened a school for the teaching of Christian Science, called the Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Here she gave personal instruction to over four thousand students. In 1883 Mrs. Eddy founded the *Christian Science Journal*, the first denominational periodical, and became its editor. The growth of the Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, organized in 1879, with twenty-six members, and having on its rolls in 1902 over twenty-two thousand is but typical of the rapid increase in the denomination. The number of organized churches and societies in 1902 is nearly seven hundred. A fact worth mentioning in this connection is that an unwritten law exists among the Christian Scientists that no church edifice shall be dedicated until it is fully paid for. Many beautiful and costly buildings have been erected, notable among them being the Mother Church in Boston, the Second Church of Christ, Scientist, in New York, and the three Chicago churches. The directory of practitioners, includes the names of persons in Mexico, Australia, the Bahamas, China, France, Hawaii, Italy, the Philippine Islands, and Switzerland, in addition to England, Scotland, and Germany. The *Christian Science Journal* has now been supplemented by the *Christian Science Sentinel*, a weekly paper, and the *Christian Science Quarterly*, which contains the Sunday lesson sermons used in all the churches.

"Science and Health" was written while Mrs. Eddy was living in Lynn, Mass. Later she removed to Boston, where she remained until 1889. Since that time her residence has been in her native state, just outside of Concord, N. H. Her beautiful home, well-named Pleasant View, has several times been thrown open to her followers, the most notable occasion being in June, 1901, when she received about three thousand visitors.



THE Transvaal Republic was founded in 1849 by Boers who had left Cape Colony and, after a sojourn in Natal, had established an independent government in the wild interior, and subdued the fierce native tribes. The republic was recognized by the English government in 1852. In 1877, however, it was formally annexed to the British Empire. But in 1880 the Boers rose in rebellion; after the battles at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, disastrous to the British arms, articles of peace were signed in March, 1881, by which self-government was restored to the Transvaal, while England retained a suzerainty in regard to foreign policy. In 1884 a second convention was made; the Transvaal became the South African Republic, and the English suzerainty was withdrawn, although certain treaties might still be vetoed by the British government.

But there was constant friction between the Boers and the Uitlanders, as the foreigners were called. There were a great number of these, drawn to the Transvaal by the wealth of the country, and seeking the franchise and a large power in the government. The crisis was precipitated by the Jameson Raids in '95-'96, and the contemporary uprising in Johannesburg. The raiders were captured in their attempt at invasion and turned over to England for trial; the Johannesburg revolt was promptly suppressed by the government. But the Boers began preparations for the war they saw to be inevitable. The British right of suzerainty was asserted anew by Mr. Chamberlain, and in 1898 there was a renewal of

the agitation among the Uitlanders in regard to the franchise and other matters of controversy. Discussion of the troubles between the two governments proved futile, and the first act of war took place October 11, 1899, in the "commandeering" of a train at Harrismith. General Piet Joubert, the Vice-President of the Republic, and a very able officer, commanded the Boers in Natal, while the English were under General Buller. The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal in its struggle, and the President, Steyn, was most active in the prosecution of the war.

Mafeking was promptly besieged by General Cronje, and General White was soon shut up in Ladysmith by Joubert's effective campaign. The English troops suffered severely in the battles of Belmont and Graspan; and Modder River, fought on November 28, was called by Lord Methuen, the British commander, one of the hardest and most trying encounters in the annals of the British army. His reverses at Magersfontein, a few days later, obliged the English general to retreat; the marksmanship of the Boers, their persistive courage, and their thorough knowledge of the country made them, in spite of their small numbers, very dangerous antagonists. General Buller advanced, on December 16, upon the Boer position at Colenso. But he lost nearly all his artillery and was forced back with heavy losses. Spion Kop, fought soon afterward, was also an English reverse. The two republics were able to put into the field about seventy thousand men in all, while the English forces numbered two hundred thousand in the first stages of the war, and were increased later.

Lord Roberts, with Lord Kitchener, took command in person on January 10, 1900, and at once began the invasion of the Free State and active operations against Cronje. In February, after several days of fierce fighting near Paardeberg, the Boer general was forced to surrender. He was deported to St. Helena. After this event, and the occupation of Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State, President Kruger, after a conference with President Steyn,

sent a circular note to the United States and to European powers asking their mediation on the basis of the preservation of the two republics. The United States was the only one to address the English government on the subject. Lord Salisbury replied that no proposals of mediation by foreign powers would be considered.

Ladysmith was finally relieved by General Buller on the first of March, 1900. In May of that year the capital of the Republic, Pretoria, was occupied by English troops, and on September 1, the Republic was declared formally annexed to Great Britain as the Transvaal Colony. The Boers, however, refused to acknowledge the annexation, as they were still in military occupation of a large part of the country. President Kruger went to Europe in November, 1900, to seek intervention; but he did not meet with success.

The famous General Joubert had died in the preceding March, and had been succeeded as Vice-President by Schalk Burger, and as Commandant-General by Botha. The latter, with his shrewd and active subordinates, DeWet and Delarey, baffled Roberts and Kitchener constantly. Lord Roberts returned to England early in January, of 1901, leaving the campaign entirely in the hands of his lieutenant, who settled down to reduce the Boers by sheer force of numbers, and the severity of war. During the spring of 1901 some discussion of peace conditions was held, but it came to nothing. Meanwhile, the slender Boer forces, then scarcely more than eight thousand men, were conducting a startlingly effective guerilla warfare. General Christian DeWet was especially prominent and successful in this. Lord Kitchener's methods grew increasingly drastic; but his peace proposals, which were repudiated by Mr. Chamberlain, were excellent, and might well have brought the bitter struggle to a close at this time. The Boer population had become, by the end of 1901, so terribly reduced, that there was scarcely any army left, while the British forces were rapidly going above the two hundred and fifty thousand mark. Yet there was no cessation of hostilities: the detached bands

of the Boers continued to appear where least expected, and brief encounters were constantly taking place.

At the end of January, 1902, the Dutch government, through Dr. Kuyper, the Prime Minister of Holland, made proposals to England looking toward a plan by which peace negotiations could be undertaken, but they were rejected. About the same time, Kitchener was making an extraordinary effort to capture De Wet and his force. The Boer leaders escaped, though with difficulty and loss, from an inclosing parallelogram composed of twenty-three British columns. On March 7, General Delarey delivered a startling blow by a sudden attack which resulted in the capture of General Methuen, the senior British officer in South Africa, next to Lord Kitchener. No less creditable than the strategic skill shown in the capture, was Delarey's courteous treatment of Methuen, and the early release accorded him.

The next two months were chiefly taken up with negotiations for peace, which prospered at last, and the terms were agreed upon in June, 1902. Absolute political independence the Boers did not receive; but they had long recognized that to be an impossibility. Many vital points, however, they did obtain: particularly important was the matter of clemency to the Cape Colony men on which they resolutely insisted. The Boer prisoners, by the terms of the treaty, are being brought back, and the British government pays fifteen million dollars for restoring the devastated farms of the Transvaal and Orange Free States. In addition to this there will be advanced, if needed by the Boers, large sums of money, free of interest, for replenishing the herds. As to government, the Boers received full amnesty and political rights, with the promise, at the earliest possible time, of self-government for the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, with the same status as Australia or Canada. The terms seemed to satisfy both of the parties.



ENTERING English political life in 1868 a Radical Liberal, Joseph Chamberlain has, by a series of changes, become the most prominent leader of the pronounced Tories. Yet there has been a certain consistency in his aims throughout his brilliant career. Though he has parted company with some of the friends of his youth, he clearly embodies Eng-

lish traditions and aspirations. His rise to power has not been due to family alliances nor to special advantage of education. It must be ascribed to force of character, intellectual endowment and persistent industry. Having first obtained wealth, he used its benefits in the public service, and has been abundantly rewarded by the English people who willingly accept his leadership, and urge him onward.

Joseph Chamberlain was born at Camberwell, in the city of London, July 8, 1836. His father had a shoe factory which had been started by his grandfather. But in 1854 he joined a firm in Birmingham engaged in the manufacture of wood-screws. Joseph was educated at the University College School, and gained prizes in various studies. At the age of sixteen he was called to assist in his father's business, and soon afterwards removed to Birmingham. Here there was a general social, educational and political fermentation. Though business engrossed much of the young man's time, he gave attention also to political affairs. In the Birmingham and Edgbaston Debating Society his powers of self-expression were well trained. Birmingham, as a manufacturing city and stronghold of Dissenters, was conspicuous in the movement

for free education. In 1868 Chamberlain became chairman of the Birmingham Education League, whose aim was to secure secular education in the public schools, leaving religious instruction to the various churches. Being chosen a member of the Town Council and the School Board, he advocated progressive, and what seemed to many, almost revolutionary measures. Among these was the opening of the public reference library and art gallery on Sunday. The celebrated King Edward VI. Grammar School, founded for the benefit of all the boys of the place, had in lapse of years become an exclusive training place of the rich. Chamberlain insisted on restoring its privileges to poor children. In spite of opposition to his proposed innovations, especially purely secular education in public schools, he was re-elected. As a fair employer of labor he enjoyed a good reputation among the workingmen.

In 1873 Chamberlain, now a Radical leader, was elected mayor of Birmingham and afterwards twice re-elected. He endeavored to conduct the city affairs as those of a large business corporation. The Town Council was induced by him to purchase the gas-works belonging to two private companies which had hitherto lighted the city. This property has since been valued at £2,000,000. The quality of gas furnished has been improved, and its price much diminished, yet the annual profits are about £40,000. In a similar way the water-works of the city were purchased. Still further, a sewage farm of 1,200 acres was purchased and fitted for its purpose at a cost of £400,000. The sale of produce from this farm now yields a yearly income of £25,000. During Chamberlain's administration the slum district of Birmingham was bought up by the city and a splendid street laid out on its site. The twenty-two years which he had spent in business had taught him how to make excellent bargains for his fellow-townsmen.

Having accomplished so much in local affairs, Chamberlain entered the broad field of national politics in 1874. He became the Radical candidate for Sheffield against Roebuck, a formidable Tory who has since sunk out of sight. Chamberlain's rallying cry was "Free church, free land, free schools, free labor." But he was badly defeated at the polls. In the

Fortnightly Review he then published an article entitled "The Next Page in the Liberal Programme," which predicted that the Liberals would in time come over to his Radical views. In 1876 his home popularity was proved by his being elected to Parliament from Birmingham without opposition. At once he took up the fight in behalf of compulsory attendance at the free public schools. Another measure advocated by him was the Gothenburg system of regulating the liquor traffic,—a system similar to that since adopted in South Carolina, but placing the trade in the hands of the municipality instead of the State. This communistic plan was not approved by Parliament. In regard to foreign affairs Chamberlain, following the leadership of Gladstone, strongly opposed the Conservative government both on the Turkish question and on the South African problem. He has since veered completely around in regard to the latter, urging the extension of the British power and influence and threatening war on the stubborn Dutch Boers. Chamberlain as a practical politician was the first to establish an organized "party machine" in English politics, and did it so effectively in Birmingham that in 1880 he and his Liberal colleagues were completely victorious.

Gladstone then returned to power after a temporary retirement from politics, in which the Liberals mourned their lost leader. Chamberlain's efficiency during the campaign was recognized by making him President of the Board of Trade. The rising statesman's influence was felt in the Cabinet in opposition to the views of the Old Liberals. He showed considerable ability as an administrator and as a manager of legislation in Parliament. It was he that directed the passage of a bankruptcy bill, the married women's property bill and the patents bill in 1883. The latter made it easier for poor inventors to secure protection for their ingenuity.

Chamberlain supported Gladstone's foreign policy even when his colleague, John Bright, felt obliged to retire from the Cabinet on account of the bombardment of Alexandria. In regard to South Africa Chamberlain urged the necessity for Sir Charles Warren's expedition which prevented the Boers from occupying Bechuanaland, but he agreed to the

London Convention of 1884, which acknowledged the internal independence of the Transvaal without mentioning the suzerainty of Great Britain, as had been done in the Convention of 1881.

During this period Chamberlain appeared to favor the aspirations of the Irish Home-Rulers. All measures brought forward for the relief of distress in Ireland received his support. He considered the real Irish difficulty to be agrarian, and hoped that if the Land laws were modified, the cry for Home Rule would die out. But Parnell described Gladstone's Land Bill as a miserable dole, and insisted on the Parliamentary separation of Ireland from England. To this extreme remedy for admitted evils Chamberlain was unalterably opposed. He wished to remove every just cause of grievance, but would go no further. To him the power of the mighty Empire was the surest guarantee of liberty. To grant legislative independence to Ireland would most probably result in a civil war. In the Cabinet Chamberlain opposed coercion as advocated by W. E. Forster, and urged the trial of conciliation. This new policy brought about what was called the Kilmainham Treaty, by which Parnell was released from jail in Dublin, and agreed to co-operate with the Liberal party on measures of general reform in return for acceptable legislation on the Irish land question. On account of this compromise Lord Cowper resigned as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Forster as the Chief Secretary. They were succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish and Lord Spencer. But before Cavendish had fairly entered on his duties, he and his Secretary Burke were assassinated by agents of the Irish National Invincibles, who had failed in similar designs against Forster. In spite of the reactionary feeling, produced by this crime, Lord Spencer and G. O. Trevelyan carried out the policy which had been agreed upon, and in a few months peace and order were restored in Ireland.

In March, 1886, Gladstone announced his concession of Irish Home Rule. Chamberlain refused to accept this political innovation, and therefore resigned from the Cabinet. He insisted on the necessity of maintaining the legislative union of the three kingdoms. Before that withdrawal he had seemed

to have a fair prospect of becoming the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons on the retirement of Gladstone. Under Lord Hartington and Chamberlain, a sufficient number of Liberal Unionists were drawn off to insure the defeat of Home Rule, and thus drive the Gladstonian Liberals from power. The Conservatives came in under Lord Salisbury, to whom the Liberal Unionists gave steady support on nearly all public questions, though they asked for no share in the offices.

Chamberlain, however, was appointed Chief of the Commission which met in Washington during President Cleveland's first administration to settle the dispute between the United States and Canada about the Fisheries. The Canadian commissioners were induced to relax the severe measures their country had adopted against American fishermen on condition that duties on Canadian fish products should be abandoned by the United States. The draft of the Treaty was signed at Washington, but it did not obtain ratification by the Senate, which, being Republican, sought to embarrass President Cleveland. Yet the conference was practically successful, as it had arranged a *modus vivendi*, which should remain in force until the treaty should be ratified. This arrangement still continues and has answered all the purposes for which it was concluded. As an incidental consequence of his diplomatic visit to Washington, Chamberlain on November 15, 1888, married a daughter of Hon. W. C. Endicott, who was Secretary of War in President Cleveland's Cabinet.

When Lord Hartington succeeded to the peerage as the Duke of Devonshire, Chamberlain became the leader of the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons. In the general election of 1892 his influence as a leader of English public opinion was very marked. For a time it seemed possible that when the Home Rule bill was disposed of, the Liberal Unionists might again join their former allies. But the divergence gradually increased, and in 1894, when Lord Rosebery was in power for a brief period, Chamberlain openly declared that the gulf could not be bridged over. New issues were sought for, and a policy of social reform was outlined for the joint Unionist party. In this the coalition was but

following to some extent the path long since marked by Disraeli.

The Liberals were overwhelmingly defeated, and in June, 1895, a Coalition Ministry was formed under Lord Salisbury. Chamberlain was made Secretary of State for the Colonies, while Salisbury reserved the control of foreign affairs for himself. Nevertheless the vast extent of Britain's colonial possessions has given Chamberlain abundant scope for his energy, and has made him conspicuous to the whole world. His efforts to develop commercial intercourse between Great Britain and her colonies exhibit his practical statesmanship. In regard to home affairs he succeeded in inducing the Conservatives to promote free public education. In the House of Commons in 1897 he advocated the Workman's Compensation bill. His course has tended to win for the government the support of the working men who were long hostile to Tory rule. Chamberlain has sought by legislation to improve the every-day lot of the poor and to protect those who are unable to protect themselves. He is a Nonconformist, and may still desire to see the disestablishment of the Church of England, yet he has won the admiration and respect, if not the full confidence, of the inflexible believers in the union of Church and State.

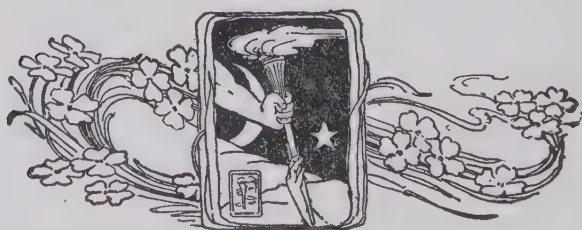
To the world at large Chamberlain now represents British Imperialism. Having become convinced of the absolute necessity of maintaining an effective union between Great Britain and Ireland, he has gone further as Colonial Secretary and proclaims the chief duty of the British Government to be preserving the integrity, enlarging the extent, consolidating the strength and increasing the influence of the whole Empire. This is but a modernized version of the old Tory doctrine. Chamberlain has therefore completely reversed his original attitude in regard to foreign affairs. Lord Salisbury, who claims this department for himself, has lost some of his former vigor, and allows his colleague to indicate the probable course of the Government in non-European affairs. Chamberlain is willing to grant to each of the several colonies abundant freedom of action in its local sphere, provided the relation to the whole Empire is not thereby impaired.

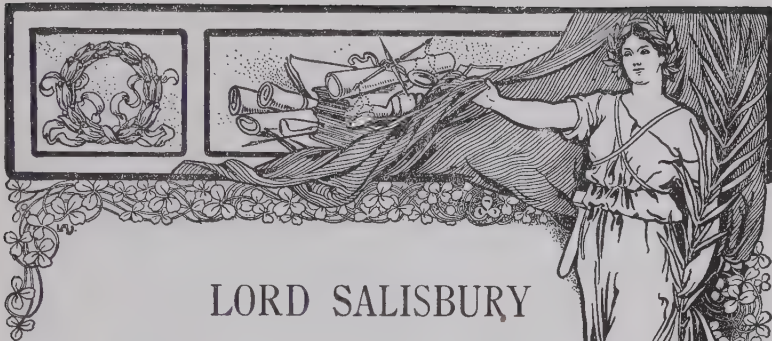
Like the most famous British statesmen, he is jealous for the rights of the individual Englishman in whatever part of the globe he may wander or settle.

The difficulties with the Boers in the Transvaal are a legacy of past administrations. The Dutch settlers in South Africa have never been reconciled to the transfer of Cape Colony to Great Britain, which took place as far back as 1814. They resist all efforts to Anglicize them, and in order to maintain their primitive independence they have more than once or twice packed up their movable property and made an exodus into the savage wilderness. The British rulers have followed them up with proclamations, annexing each new settlement on the plea of protecting the native tribes from their cruelty. Cecil Rhodes became the promoter of the the movement for the subjugation of all South Africa, and indeed all Eastern Africa as well, to the British dominions. In December, 1895, while he was Prime Minister of Cape Colony, Dr. Jameson, under his direction, made his abortive raid into the mining district of the Transvaal. At the time of the trial of the raiders in London Rhodes disclaimed direct knowledge of the affair and made some private explanations to Secretary Chamberlain. But when the storm of indignation had blown over, he admitted his full responsibility. His offence had been condoned by the British government as merely an outburst of patriotic zeal.

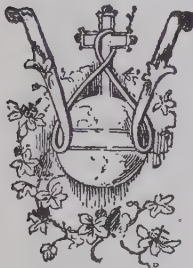
Secretary Chamberlain then took the protection of the Outlanders in the Transvaal into his own hands. The Outlanders are mostly English-speaking folk who have gone to exploit the gold and diamond mines of South Africa. In Johannesburg they outnumber the Boers three to one. They wish to regulate its affairs to suit their own convenience, to have the English language used in courts and schools, to have the railroad and dynamite monopolies abolished, and the conveniences of modern civilization introduced. The Boers, still an agricultural people, exact heavy tribute from the unwelcome intruders, and, mindful of their own past sufferings, refuse to grant control of local affairs to those who are merely temporary residents, though owning perhaps nine-tenths of the wealth of the district. British subjects were required to

be residents for fifteen years before they could become naturalized in the Transvaal. Under pressure from Chamberlain, Kruger offered to have the term reduced to seven years, and made other concessions in regard to the Outlanders' complaints. But he maintained that British suzerainty had been relinquished in the Convention made with him in London in 1884. This supremacy Chamberlain, acting for the British government, claimed more imperiously than ever, and rejected consideration of Kruger's concessions unless that was acknowledged in the first place. The autumn of 1899 witnessed the preparations for a serious struggle for the gold fields of the Rand. Lovers of peace had not abandoned all hope of having the dispute settled by arbitration or compromise, until President Kruger, on October 16, issued an ultimatum, requiring the British troops to be withdrawn from the frontiers of the Transvaal within two days, and all reinforcements sent to Cape Colony since June 1st to be sent elsewhere within reasonable time. When this demand was disregarded the Boer forces invaded Natal. In London war was gladly accepted in accordance with the decision of Joseph Chamberlain, who is stoutly supported by English public opinion. An army was sent to the Cape under Sir Redvers Buller, who was later succeeded by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. The warfare, vigorously prosecuted by Mr. Chamberlain, continued till June, 1902, when peace was declared.





LORD SALISBURY



WILLIAM CECIL was the founder of the fortunes of the house of Salisbury, though he did not attain to that title. He first rose into notice by attacking the papal supremacy, thus winning the favor of Henry VIII. By wariness in professed changes of religion he retained place in subsequent reigns, and for nearly thirty years was Lord High Treasurer of England under Queen Elizabeth. In 1571 he was created Baron Burghley. His son Robert succeeded to his power, and, in 1605, was made Earl of Salisbury by James I.

Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, third Marquis and eighth Earl of Salisbury, was born at the ancestral house of Hatfield on February 10, 1830. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. He then traveled around the world, and visited the gold mines of California and Australia. Being a younger son he had no prospect of attaining the title, and having but a slight fortune, was compelled to seek work for a livelihood. He became a diligent writer in daily and weekly newspapers. Especially in the bold and slashing *Saturday Review* did he find the suitable field for his pungent comment on men and events, always upholding the traditions of the Tory party.

Lord Robert Cecil entered Parliament, in 1853, as representative of the family borough of Stamford. For some years he was more distinguished for his sharp attacks on the Liberal policy than for any suggestions of improvement. On the

death of his elder brother, in 1865, he assumed the title of Viscount Cranborne. In the next year he was admitted to a place in Lord Derby's ministry as Secretary of State for India. The quickness and thoroughness with which he mastered the official business of the position was a new revelation of his ability. On the other hand, he refused to be trammelled by the opinions and judgment of those who had long experience of Indian affairs. Lord Northbrook resigned as Governor General of India rather than carry out the new and dangerous policy, and Lord Lytton was appointed to put it into effect. The result was a massacre at Cabul and an Afghan war.

In home affairs Lord Cranborne adhered so closely to Tory ideas that in 1867 he refused to follow Disraeli in his new departure of Parliamentary reform and extension of the franchise. Cranborne denounced Disraeli as an adventurer, but that astute leader said to his associates, "We must get Robert Cecil back at whatever cost." And in due time they did. The scheme of reform had been only a device to get into power with the hope of manœuvring so as to retain it. The Conservative party settled back into the old Tory ruts. Lord Cranborne went beyond all others in his abusive attacks upon Gladstone, and indulged in such variety of vituperative phrases as have seldom been equalled in the House of Commons.

In April, 1868, Lord Cranborne succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father. When Disraeli formed his second administration in February, 1874, Lord Salisbury accepted the same post which he had previously held. Now admitting the ability of Disraeli to secure victory, Salisbury firmly adhered to him in spite of calumnies and rebuffs, and even imitated his manner. In 1876 Salisbury was despatched to Constantinople to assist in the conference which was expected to settle the disputes between Russia and Turkey. But General Ignatieff proved his superior in diplomacy, and the mission failed. War soon broke out, and after a more severe struggle than was anticipated was brought to a close by the Treaty of San Stefano. Against this treaty England protested, and even threatened to make war. She called out her reserves, and an Anglo-Indian army appeared at Malta.

In May, 1878, Lord Salisbury succeeded Lord Derby as Minister of Foreign Affairs. His intellectual power was displayed in his promptitude and thoroughness in mastering the business of the department. He also impressed his subordinates by his passion for work. But on his predecessor in office he made a verbal onslaught, almost as severe as anything he had ever said about Gladstone in the House of Commons. Salisbury accompanied Lord Beaconsfield to the Berlin Congress which did much to modify the terms of the treaty, and enabled the English minister to return to London in triumph, bringing, as he declared, "Peace with honor." Gladstone came into power in 1880, and when Lord Beaconsfield died in that year, Lord Salisbury became the recognized leader of the Conservative party. For five years his efforts were limited to maintaining a vigorous opposition to the Liberals, especially when Gladstone yielded to the demand for Home Rule in Ireland.

When the Gladstone Ministry resigned in June, 1885, Lord Salisbury became Premier as well as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. But the elections in November went against the government, and Salisbury resigned. Gladstone returned for an equally short tenure, as he was defeated on the second reading of the Home Rule bill in June, 1886. Within a month a general election brought Salisbury back to power. In the year of the Queen's jubilee her Majesty conferred special honor upon the Marquis of Salisbury by going in person to visit him at Hatfield House. In July, 1891, he likewise had the honor of entertaining the German Emperor at this famous seat.

In 1892 the elections went against the Conservatives, but Salisbury retained office until he was defeated in the House of Commons, when he gave way to Gladstone. But the veteran Liberal statesman was compelled by infirmity of age to withdraw from political life and Lord Rosebery succeeded for a short term. In 1895 Lord Salisbury formed his third administration, in which the coalition of the Liberal Unionists was first formally recognized by the admission of Joseph Chamberlain as Secretary of State for the Colonies. The troubles in Greece and Crete gave Lord Salisbury ample occu-

pation in 1897, but were settled without a general war. The dispute about the boundary of Venezuela consumed much time and provoked a warning from President Cleveland that the United States would not allow the Monroe doctrine to be infringed. This question was therefore referred to a Council of Arbitration which finally in September, 1899, allowed most of Great Britain's claims. In the still more serious dispute with the Boers of the Transvaal, Lord Salisbury left the negotiations in the hands of Secretary Chamberlain as being colonial affairs, though involving a serious war for which the whole ministry was responsible. After the death of the Queen, and the accession of King Edward, in 1901, it soon became understood that Lord Salisbury was but awaiting the King's coronation and the close of the South African War, to resign his post, for which he felt himself growing too old. It was, therefore, no surprise when, on July 13, 1902, the great Prime Minister announced his retirement.

Lord Salisbury is a debater of great power and readiness, a fluent, impassioned and vehement orator. His command of words is complete, and his faculty of illustration is remarkable. The chief reproach upon his parliamentary career is the undignified license of speech which he allowed himself in his attacks upon Gladstone. In private life he is noted for his courtesy, generosity, amiability, and perfect mastery of the grand manner. His wife, a daughter of Judge Alderson, is noted for her ability in political affairs, as well as her charming social leadership. Lord Salisbury has always been inclined to seek relaxation in scientific pursuits, especially in experimental physics. He spends much time in his laboratory at Hatfield, and has interested himself in applying electricity to practical uses on his estates. He was chosen President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and at the opening of its sessions in 1895 he delivered a masterly address. The Marquis of Salisbury is an eminent embodiment of the hereditary peerage, distinguished equally by illustrious descent and intellectual ability.



ACCORDING to those very real yet quite unformulated customs and methods known, as a whole, as the British Constitution, the occupant of the English throne reigns but does not rule. The responsible government is vested in the sovereign's chosen ministers, who, in their turn, are wholly dependent upon the support of the elected Parliament. Yet the influence of the nominal head of the state, if exercised with care and tact, may count for as much in times of emergency as the more tangible and visible authority of absolute rulers.

Such an influence was that of Victoria, Queen of England, from 1837 to 1901.

Alexandrina Victoria was born in Kensington Palace, May 24, 1819, the daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III., and his wife, Victoria Mary Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld and widow of the Prince of Leiningen. Within a year after the birth of the Princess Victoria, her father died. The task left to his Duchess of training the probable heir to the throne, was, of course, a responsible one, and it was made doubly difficult by straitened financial circumstances, and the critical and troublesome attitude of the King, George IV. But the Duchess of Kent showed herself a woman of unusual work and strength of character, and her every thought was for the well-being of her child. The English nation owes her a great debt of gratitude.

The years of Victoria's life previous to the year 1837 were spent in simple, uneventful living; with lessons and

exercise and such quiet amusements as were possible to one of her station. Her mother had constant care for the up-building of her character, and the Princess was surrounded with persons of the most refined mental and moral fibre. In 1837 with the death of King William, Victoria's uncle, came the great change: the young girl, in default of the male line of succession, became Queen of England. Early in the morning, after the king's death, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain hastened to Kensington Palace to announce to the Princess her accession to the throne. When, after some difficulty, they had roused the household, the young Queen, just awakened from sleep, was brought in her dressing-gown to receive the news and the homage of the messengers.

Victoria was publicly proclaimed Queen on June 21, and on July 31 she went in state to dissolve the Parliament. On June 28, 1838, she was crowned in Westminster Abbey with all the pomp and impressiveness of ceremonial possible to such a service.

The Queen's first Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, to the surprise of all who knew him, came immediately and completely under the sway of her strong, sweet, and simple personality. From him and Baron Stockman, her political tutor, the young sovereign learned the details of constitutional usage and practice, and the intricacies of statesmanship. The people turned with relief from a long line of weak or trivial kings to the auspiciously opening reign of this brave, right-minded girl.

In October, 1839, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg came to England, and on the twenty-fourth of November following, Victoria announced to the Privy Council that he was to be her husband. The wedding took place in the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace, February 10, 1840. There is not the slightest doubt but that the marriage was a love-match, and the young Queen's affections were most worthily bestowed. The Prince quickly took the position in the public eye to which not merely his high rank, but his ability and attainments, entitled him. On the 21st of November, 1840, was born the Queen's first

child, the Princess Royal, afterward the Empress Frederick of Germany. The Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII., was born November 9, 1841. In the following year the Queen made the first of her visits to Scotland. The Princess Alice, afterward Grand Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt, was born in 1843, and in the autumn of that year the Queen was the guest of Louis Philippe in France. This was a notable occasion, being the first state visit to that country by a British ruler since the days of Henry VIII. In the next year, 1844, the Queen received the Czar Nicholas in England, and the head of the French nation made his return visit. That year also saw the birth of Prince Alfred, afterward the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Of the others of the Queen's children, the Princess Christian was born in 1846; Louise, Duchess of Argyll, in 1848; the Duke of Connaught in 1850; Leopold, the Duke of Albany, in 1853; and Beatrice, afterward the Princess Henry of Battenberg, in 1857.

In May, 1851, occurred the brilliant ceremonials connected with the opening of the Great Exhibition, to the success of which the Prince Consort had so markedly contributed. It had been begun in the face of much opposition, but its popularity and usefulness were undeniable. In the following year, 1852, the Queen suffered a severe blow in the death of the Duke of Wellington, then a very aged man, but one of the sovereign's firmest friends and most valued counsellors. In a letter to the King of the Belgians, she says:

"He [the Duke] was the pride and good genius, as it were, of this country — the most loyal and devoted subject the crown ever had. We shall soon stand sadly alone. Aberdeen is almost the only personal friend of the kind left to us — Melbourne, Peel, Liverpool, now the Duke — all gone!"

In that year the Earl of Derby became her prime minister, but in a few months he was forced to give place to the Aberdeen coalition ministry. But soon (1854) came the Crimean War which led to the resignation of Aberdeen

in 1855. Palmerston was reinstated, and under him the war was brought to a close. In 1855 Napoleon III. and his beautiful Empress paid a memorable visit to the English Court. The troops of the two nations were then fighting side by side in the Crimean War. The Crimean War was a source of terrible anxiety to the Queen, and her trouble was increased by the direful Indian mutiny which followed close upon the heels of the Crimea. But order was at length restored, and her Majesty issued a proclamation of such comprehensive generosity and tolerance that it has come to be regarded by the natives as a sort of charter of liberty. The Victoria Cross, with its inscription "For Valour," had been instituted in 1856.

It was a source of great pride and satisfaction to the Queen, however, to know that England was far stronger at the end of the Crimean struggle than she had been at the beginning. The country had learned much from its grievous mistakes, and it was not exhausted by its heavy sacrifices. The mutiny, coming thus at the end of the Crimean War, found England far more ready to cope with it than she would have been if it had taken place earlier.

In 1859 the Queen became a grandmother for the first time, when Prince William, the present Emperor of Germany, was born to the Princess Royal. 1860 saw the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, and later, as Baron Renfrew, to the United States. He was received here with great enthusiasm, and was universally liked.

The year 1861 saw the close of the Queen's happiness; death took from her first her mother, and then her husband. The Duchess of Kent died in March, most keenly mourned by all who knew her and realized the great service she had done the nation in her wise up-bringing of her daughter, amid the great difficulties with which she had been forced to contend. Victoria fully appreciated all that she owed to her mother. The death of the Duchess threw much extra work upon the Prince Consort, for he was made her sole executor. He had been none too robust for some time, and there was soon noticed a distinct failure of his health and energy. The Prince,

however, by no means relaxed his habit of diligent work, and in these troublous days, when war between the United States and England seemed so imminent, his wise and pacific counsel was of inestimable service to the Queen and to the country. Practically his last work was on December 1, 1861, when he prepared a draft for the Queen on the *Trent* affair. He breathed his last two weeks later, on December 14 — a man who had come slowly through much suspicion and misunderstanding into the highest love and approbation of his adopted country. The whole English nation mourned with the Queen, and *her* grief was inconsolable. Her mourning ended only with her own death. Since 1861 Victoria's apparent participation in matters of state was greatly diminished. She was "a careworn woman, acquainted with grief." Ten years later, in 1871, the Queen was called upon to pass through another period of terrible trial and anxious suspense in the serious illness, from typhoid fever, of the Prince of Wales. He recovered, however, yet very slowly, and a national thanksgiving was held on his return to health.

Although the great country of India had been for many years under the English crown, nothing in the Queen's title suggested her control. But on February 17, 1876, Mr. Disraeli introduced to the House of Commons a bill creating his sovereign "Empress of India." The bill was promptly passed, although not until after some argument had taken place, and the formal proclamation of the title was made in India on New Year's Day, 1877. Mr. Disraeli was shortly afterward created Earl of Beaconsfield.

The Egyptian War of 1882 furnished a peculiarly acute source of anxiety to the Queen. She had always watched the movements of her soldiers and sailors with a tender and solicitous care, but it was not until the September of 1882 that one of her own sons was under fire in a distant land. The Duke of Connaught was in the Egyptian campaign, in command of a regiment of the Guards. The entries in the Queen's Journal show the

most intense love and anxiety for the imperilled prince, and one of the staff subordinates in the field was commissioned to send her frequent and accurate bulletins concerning the welfare of the Duke, and the movements of the army. The royal soldier acquitted himself with distinction, however, and came off without a scratch. These years had brought many bereavements to the widowed Queen, among them the death of the Princess Alice being most severe.

June 20, 1887, marked the end of fifty years since Victoria's accession. The Empire celebrated Her Majesty's jubilee with great rejoicing, and other nations caught the spirit of the occasion and joined in observing this anniversary of a good woman and a noble ruler. No other half-century had ever witnessed such notable progress in English prosperity and power, and many of the sister-nations had shared the advance. On June 21, the Queen, accompanied by her surviving children and grand-children went in state to Westminster Abbey, where a special service was held. There were, of course, many jubilee ceremonies throughout the nation. These services and ceremonies were repeated with even deeper feeling ten years later, when, in 1897, the sixtieth anniversary of the Queen's accession was celebrated.

It was Victoria's greatest desire as a sovereign, during the last ten or twelve years of her life that she might not see England again drawn into a foreign war. Unfortunately this reasonable wish was not to be gratified, and the sorrow and distress which were caused her by the war in South Africa were undoubtedly the chief causes of the collapse which resulted in her death. After an illness of no long duration, Victoria breathed her last at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, January 22, 1901. The state funeral took place on the second of February, and the Queen was tenderly carried to the mausoleum at Frogmore, there to rest at last by the side of her beloved husband.



ON January 23, 1901, the day following the death of Queen Victoria, the British Parliament assembled in haste to take the oath of allegiance to her successor, the man who had been Prince of Wales for almost sixty years. The King entered upon his new duties—which had been postponed for him so long that it seemed to many highly improbable that he would ever assume them—with the tact that has always characterized him, but also with a dignity and a certain indication of reserve power that but few had expected.

The appearance and the speech of the new sovereign at the opening of Parliament on February 14, were anxiously awaited. Edward's first royal speech was a straightforward one, dealing simply with the pressing state questions, particularly the war in South Africa which he declared himself ready to prosecute vigorously. Soon afterward, the King paid a short visit to Germany, more to see his sister, the Empress Frederick, who was ill, than to call upon the Emperor in state. Upon his return, he entered energetically upon the discharge of the onerous duties of his position, continuing to surprise every one by his prompt and broad realization of his responsibilities, and the intelligence and acumen with which he dealt with them.

"It was amazing," a member of the Privy Council is reported to have said, "the change which we all noticed in the King. The Prince whom we knew so well seemed to have disappeared. In his place there stood a new being between whom and ourselves there had suddenly sprung

up an invisible but potent barrier. There was a dignity which we had never seen before, and we felt ourselves in the presence of a King."

The preparations for the solemn coronation were promptly begun, and the date was set for June 28, 1902. But some ten days previous, the King, whose always uncertain health had been sorely taxed by an unusual number of laborious public ceremonials, became ill. The disease, perityphlitis, rapidly grew so serious as to demand an operation, and the coronation was indefinitely postponed. Edward's recovery, however, was soon assured, and he was well enough to be crowned in state, with Queen Alexandra, on the 9th of August.

Albert Edward was born Nov. 9, 1841, and was, therefore, nearly sixty-one years old at the time of his crowning. He received a thorough and careful education, varied by travels. His visit to the United States in 1860 is remembered by many of the older generation. March 10, 1863, he married the Princess Alexandra, eldest daughter of King Christian IX. of Denmark. For forty years this Danish princess has lived in England, identifying herself with the life of her adopted country, and winning universal esteem and affection. They have four surviving children, the eldest of whom, George, born in 1865, is Prince of Wales, and heir to the throne.

The King is a "modern man," who realizes fully the demands and the limitations of his position. He is very popular with his people, and, if he exhibits no striking qualities of creative statesmanship, yet is he sure to prove a careful and successful head for the English nation.

GENERAL INDEX

TO THE

LIBRARY OF HISTORIC CHARACTERS AND FAMOUS EVENTS.

	PAGE
I. INDEX OF HISTORIC CHARACTERS	322
II. INDEX OF CHARACTERS MENTIONED	327
III. INDEX OF FAMOUS EVENTS	359
IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (Arranged by Countries)	379
1. AMERICA	379
2. CANADA	388
3. ENGLAND	389
4. FRANCE	394
5. GERMANY	398
6. ITALY-ROME	402
7. RUSSIA	405
8. SPAIN	407
9. CARTHAGE	409
10. EGYPT	410
11. GREECE	411
12. INDIA	413
13. MACEDONIA	414
14. SICILY	415
15. MOHAMMEDANS	416
16. OTHER COUNTRIES	417

I. INDEX OF HISTORIC CHARACTERS.

SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.	SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.
A BELARD, PIERRE	V	112	BAYARD, THOMAS F.	XII	159
ADAMS, JOHN	IV	342	BEACONSFIELD, LORD	X	215
ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY	VII	349	BEAUREGARD, GEN. P. G. T.	VIII	195
ADAMS, SAMUEL	III	354	BEECHER, HENRY WARD	X	346
ADRIAN, EMPEROR	IX	41	BEECHER, LYMAN	X	342
ÆSCHYLUS	X	122	BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN	VIII	394
AGESILAUS	VII	54	BELISARIUS	VII	125
AKBAR	XI	122	BENTON, THOMAS H.	XI	339
ALARIC	III	165	BERNADOTTE, MARSHAL	XI	129
ALBUQUERQUE, ALFONSO DE	X	76	BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX	V	119
ALCIBIADES	VI	160	BISMARCK, Prince OTTO VON	X	177
ALCUIN	V	26	BLAINE, JAMES G.	X	242
ALEXANDER THE GREAT	I	17	BLÜCHER, MARSHALL VON	VII	293
ALEXANDER I OF RUSSIA	XII	5	BOLEYN ANNE	VII	254
ALEXANDER II OF RUSSIA	XII	25	BOLIVAR, GEN. SIMON	IX	391
ALEXANDER III OF RUSSIA	XII	35	BOONE, DANIEL	XI	257
ALFRED THE GREAT	I	259	BOUGAINVILLE, ADMIRAL	V	288
AMBROSE, ST.	IX	51	BRIGHT, JOHN	XI	212
ANGELO, MICHAEL	II	222	BROWN, JOHN	X	321
ANNE, QUEEN	IX	126	BRUCE, ROBERT	VI	294
ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT	V	72	BUCHANAN, JAMES	XI	354
ANTONY, MARK	III	96	BUDDHA, GAUTAMA	X	90
ARCHIMEDES	VI	195	BURKE, EDMUND	IX	223
ARCTIC EXPLORERS	X	114	BURR, AARON	VII	326
ARIOSTO	X	135	BUTLER, BENJAMIN F.	XII	111
ARISTOPHANES	X	128			
ARISTOTLE	X	12	C ÆSAR, JULIUS	III	5
ARKWRIGHT, SIR RICHARD	III	372	CALHOUN, JOHN C.	VII	378
ARTAXERXES	VII	45	CALVIN, JOHN	XI	115
ARTHUR, CHESTER A.	XII	130	CAMOENS, LUIS DE	X	83
ATILIA	III	174	CANUTE, KING	III	129
AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY	III	187	CAPET, HUGH, KING	I	379
AUGUSTINE, ST.	IX	61	CARTIER, JACQUES	III	181
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, EMPEROR	VI	200	CASS, LEWIS	XI	361
AURELIAN, EMPEROR	VII	95	CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA	II	192
AURELIUS, MARCUS	II	256	CATILINE, L. SERGIUS	III	47
AURENGZEBE	VIII	303	CAVOUR COUNT	XII	66
B ABER, MOGUL EMPEROR	VIII	296	CAXTON, WILLIAM	V	391
BACON, FRANCIS, LORD			CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, M.	X	150
VERULAM	X	17	CHAMBERLAIN, JOSEPH	XII	301
BACON, ROGER.	X	158	CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE	I	164
BALBOA, VASCO NUNEZ DE	X	68	CHARLEMAGNE, EMPEROR	V	5
BALTIMORE, LORD	II	361	CHARLES I OF ENGLAND	XI	29
BANCROFT, GEORGE	X	313	CHARLES II OF ENGLAND	XI	47
BARTON, CLARA	X	291	CHARLES EDWARD, THE YOUNG		
BAYARD, CHEVALIER	II	128	PRETENDER	XI	89
BAYARD, JAMES A.	XII	158	CHARLES V, EMPEROR OF		
			GERMANY	IX	144

[illegible]

SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.	SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.
HASTINGS, WARREN	VIII	333	KOSSUTH, LOUIS	XI	134
HAYES, RUTHERFORD B. . . .	XII	118	KRUGER, PAUL	X	384
HENRY I OF ENGLAND	IV	146	LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE . .	VI	83
HENRY II OF ENGLAND	III	195	LA VALLIÈRE, DUCHESS DE .	II	310
HENRY III OF ENGLAND	VI	261	LAWRENCE, CAPT. JAMES . . .	XI	260
HENRY IV OF ENGLAND	VII	194	LEE, RICHARD HENRY	IV	329
HENRY V OF ENGLAND	VII	204	LEE, GEN. ROBERT E.	VIII	140
HENRY VI OF ENGLAND	VII	211	LEIF ERICSON	I	105
HENRY VII OF ENGLAND	VII	228	LEO X, POPE	VIII	372
HENRY VIII OF ENGLAND	VII	237	LEO XIII, POPE	X	367
HENRY THE FOWLER, OF			LEONARDO DA VINCI	X	162
GERMANY	IV	71	LEONIDAS	I	225
HENRY IV OF GERMANY	IV	76	LESSEPS, FERDINAND DE . . .	IX	372
HENRY V OF GERMANY	IV	137	LI HUNG CHANG	XII	55
HENRY IV OF NAVARRE	III	153	LINCOLN, ABRAHAM	VIII	5
HENRY THE NAVIGATOR	X	55	LIVINGSTONE, DAVID	X	100
HENRY OF TRASTAMARE	IV	205	LORENZO DE' MEDICI	VI	314
HENRY, PATRICK	III	347	LOUIS IX OF FRANCE	I	361
HERACLIUS, EMPEROR	VII	135	LOUIS XI OF FRANCE	IV	220
HERMANN (ARMINIUS)	I	76	LOUIS XIV OF FRANCE	II	294
HERODOTUS	X	293	LOUIS XV OF FRANCE	I	320
HOBSON, RICHMOND P.	XII	267	LOUIS XVI OF FRANCE	III	300
HOFER, ANDREW	VII	320	LOUISA, QUEEN OF PRUSSIA . .	IX	235
HORACE, QUINTUS FLACCUS . .	VI	226	LOYOLA, IGNATIUS	XI	396
HOUSTON, SAM.	XI	294	LUTHER, MARTIN	X	302
HUDSON, HENRY	I	150	LYCURGUS	I	29
HUGO, VICTOR	IX	321	MACAULAY, LORD	XI	220
HUMBOLDT, A. VON	X	40	MACMAHON, MARSHAL	XII	74
IRVING, WASHINGTON	X	306	MADISON, JAMES	VII	334
ISABELLA OF CASTILE	III	208	MAGELLAN, FERNANDO DE . . .	X	62
JACKSON, GEN. ANDREW	VII	359	MAHAN, ALFRED T.	XII	178
JACKSON, STONEWALL	VIII	168	MAINTENON, MADAME DE . . .	II	325
JAMES I OF ENGLAND	IX	87	MARCEL, ETIENNE	VI	305
JAMES II OF ENGLAND	XI	60	MARCELLUS, M. CLAUDIUS . .	VI	186
JAMES EDWARD, THE OLD PRE-			MARCUS AURELIUS, EMPEROR .	II	256
TENDER	XI	83	MARIA THERESA OF AUSTRIA . .	IX	181
JAY, JOHN	IV	354	MARIE ANTOINETTE	III	315
JEFFERSON, THOMAS	IV	379	MARIE LOUISE, EMPRESS . . .	V	336
JEHAN, SHAH	VIII	311	MARIE DE' MEDICI	VII	270
JENGHIS KHAN	IV	178	MARION, GEN. FRANCIS	I	201
JOAN OF ARC	VII	5	MARIUS, CAIUS	II	92
JOHN, KING OF ENGLAND	V	239	MARLBOROUGH, DUKE OF . . .	IX	110
JOHN OF AUSTRIA, DON	IX	157	MARQUETTE, FATHER	I	277
JOHNSON, ANDREW	XII	90	MARSHALL, CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN	XI	243
JOHNSTON, GEN. A. S.	VIII	184	MARY, QUEEN OF ENGLAND . .	III	250
JONES, PAUL	VI	117	MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS	II	233
JOSEPH II, GERMAN EMPEROR . .	IX	193	MASINISSA	V	94
JOSEPHINE, EMPRESS OF FRANCE	V	307	MASSÉNA, MARSHAL	V	322
JUGURTHA	V	99	MATILDA OF FLANDERS	II	286
JUSTINIAN, EMPEROR	I	339	MAZARIN, CARDINAL	V	157
KATHARINE OF ARAGON	VII	247	MCCLELLAN, GEN. G. B. . . .	X	256
KITCHENER, LORD	X	391	McKINLEY, WILLIAM	XII	181
KOSCIUSKO, THADDEUS	II	209	MEADE, GEN. G. G.	X	261
			MEDICI, LORENZO DE'	VI	314

SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.	SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.
MICHAEL ANGELO	II	222	PHILLIPS, WENDELL	X	231
MILES, NELSON A.	XII	273	PHOCION	I	251
MILTIADES	I	301	PIERCE, FRANKLIN	XI	335
MIRABEAU, COMTE DE	IV	283	PITT, WILLIAM	IX	210
MITHRADATES	III	68	PIZARRO, FRANCISCO	II	161
MOHAMMED	VIII	263	PLATO	X	5
MOHAMMED II.	VIII	279	PLINY	I	393
MOLIERE, J. B. P.	IV	264	PLINY, THE YOUNGER	I	393
MOLTKE, COUNT VON	IX	351	POLK, JAMES K.	XI	327
MONROE, JAMES	VII	343	POLO, MARCO	X	94
MONTCALM, MARQUIS DE	III	339	POMPADOUR, MARQUISE DE	VII	285
MONTESPAN, MADAME DE	II	320	POMPEY, CNEIUS	III	78
MONTFORT, SIMON DE	VI	267	PONCE DE LEON	V	294
MOORE, SIR JOHN	XI	183	PONIA TOWSKI, STANISLAUS	IV	252
MORRIS, ROBERT	IV	337	PORTER, COMMODORE DAVID	XI	290
MORGAN, GEN. DANIEL	I	193	PORTER, ADMIRAL D. D.	XI	374
MORSE, SAMUEL F. B.	IX	270	PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS	VII	84
MOZART, J. C. W. A.	VIII	387	PTOLEMY SOTER	VII	78
NAPOLÉON, EMPEROR	II	5	PUTNAM, GEN. ISRAEL	I	171
NAPOLEON III.	IX	306	PYRRHUS, KING	II	77
NECKER, JACQUES	IV	309	RALEIGH, SIR WALTER	I	62
NELSON, LORD	VI	366	RAMSES II	I	211
NERO, EMPEROR	VIII	365	RAPHAEL D'URBINO	VIII	379
NEWTON, SIR ISAAC	X	32	RÉCAMIER, MADAME	VI	392
NEY, MARSHAL	VI	357	RHODES, CECIL	X	378
NICHOLAS I OF RUSSIA	XII	15	RICHARD I OF ENGLAND	IV	152
NICHOLAS II OF RUSSIA	XII	48	RICHARD II OF ENGLAND	VII	187
NICIAS	VI	170	RICHARD III OF ENGLAND	VII	220
NIGHTINGALE, FLORENCE	X	287	RICHELIEU, CARDINAL	V	126
NORDENSKJÖLD, BARON	X	120	ROBERTS, LORD	X	376
O'CONNELL, DANIEL	XI	229	ROBESPIERRE, MAXIMILIEN	IV	319
OGLETHORPE, JAMES	II	353	ROCHAMBEAU, COUNT	VI	132
OSMAN PASHA	X	296	ROGER OF SICILY	VI	251
PALISSY THE POTTER	IV	392	ROLAND, MADAME	IV	302
PALMER, JOHN M.	XII	165	ROLLO	III	135
PARÉ, AMBROSE	X	168	ROMULUS	I	83
PARNELL, CHARLES S.	XI	238	ROOSEVELT, THEODORE	XII	277
PASTEUR, LOUIS	X	171	ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES	XI	163
PAUSANIAS	I	311	RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG	XI	22
PEEL, SIR ROBERT	XI	194	SALADIN	IV	164
PELISSIER, MARSHAL	X	281	SALISBURY, LORD	XII	309
PENN, WILLIAM	V	257	SAMPSON, WILLIAM	XII	251
PERICLES	I	109	SARPI, PAOLO	XI	108
PERRY, COMMODORE M. C.	XI	365	SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO	VI	321
PERRY, COMMODORE O. H.	XI	276	SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH VON	V	345
PETER THE CRUEL	IV	194	SCHLEY, WINFIELD S.	XII	255
PETER THE GREAT	VI	336	SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAJOR	I	386
PETER THE HERMIT	IV	109	SCIPIO AFRICANUS MINOR	V	83
PHIDIAS	I	119	SCOTT, GEN. WINFIELD	IX	254
PHILIP OF MACEDON	V	61	SCOTT, SIR WALTER	III	384
PHILIP OF POKANOKET	V	300	SEMI RAMIS	VII	36
PHILIP II OF SPAIN	III	234	SENECA, L. ANNÆUS	IX	25
			SERTORIUS, CAIUS	II	108

SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.	SUBJECT.	VOLUME	PAGE.
SEWARD, WILLIAM H.	VIII	46	URBAN II., POPE	IV	103
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM	III	258	VAN BUREN, MARTIN	XI	395
SHERIDAN, GEN. P. H.	VIII	126	VANE, SIR HARRY	XI	41
SHERMAN, GEN. W. T.	VIII	106	VERCINGETORIX	III	39
SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP	VIII	241	VESPASIAN, EMPEROR	IX	5
SIGSBEE, CHARLES D.	XII	228	VICTOR, EMMANUEL	IX	329
SIMON DE MONTFORT	VI	267	VICTORIA, QUEEN	XII	314
SKOBELEFF, GEN. M. D.	X	299	VINCI, LEONARDO DA	X	162
SMITH, CAPT. JOHN	III	288	VIRGIL, P. MARO	VI	217
SOBIESKI, JOHN	IV	237	VOLTAIRE	XI	144
SOCRATES	VII	62			
SOLON	I	219	WALLACE, SIR WILLIAM . . .	VI	285
SOTO, FERDINAND DE	I	70	WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF		
SPENSER, EDMUND	VIII	253	FRIEDLAND	V	221
ST. AMBROSE	IX	51	WALPOLE, SIR ROBERT	IX	137
ST. AUGUSTINE	IX	61	WASHINGTON, GEORGE	VI	5
STAEL, MADAME DE	VI	383	WATT, JAMES	III	363
STANDISH, MILES	II	337	WAYNE, GEN. ANTHONY	I	295
STANLEY, HENRY M.	X	108	WEBSTER, DANIEL	VII	387
STANTON, EDWIN M.	XII	102	WELLINGTON, DUKE OF	VII	300
STEPHENS, ALEXANDER H. . . .	IX	299	WHITNEY, ELI	X	316
STEPHENSON, GEORGE	II	393	WILKES, CHARLES	X	353
STEUBEN, BARON	VI	106	WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR . . .	I	47
STEVENS, THADDEUS	XII	81	WILLIAM I, GERMAN EMPEROR	IX	344
STUYVESANT, PETER	II	367	WILLIAM II, GERMAN EMPEROR	X	358
SULLA, LUCIUS CORNELIUS . . .	III	54	WILLIAM II OF ENGLAND, RUFUS	III	144
SULLY, DUKE OF	VII	276	WILLIAM III OF ENGLAND . . .	IX	99
SUMNER, CHARLES	IX	283	WILLIAM THE SILENT	XI	5
TALLEYRAND, PRINCE	IX	245	WILLIAMS, ROGER	II	346
TAMERLANE	IV	185	WINTHROP, JOHN	I	288
TANEY, ROGER B.	XI	345	WOLFE, GEN. JAMES	III	330
TASSO, TORQUATO	X	143	WOLSELEY, LORD	X	372
TAYLOR, ZACHARY	IX	265	WOLSEY, CARDINAL	VII	262
THEMISTOCLES	I	232	XENOPHON	VII	71
THIERS, ADOLPHE	X	190	XERXES	I	228
THOMAS, GEN. G. H.	X	265	ZENOBI, QUEEN OF THE		
THUCYDIDES	X	294	EAST	VII	103
TIBERIUS, EMPEROR	VIII	355			
TILDEN, SAMUEL J.	XII	125			
TITUS, EMPEROR	IX	13			
TRAJAN, EMPEROR	IX	31			
TURENNE, MARSHAL	V	179			
TYLER, JOHN	XI	318			

II. INDEX OF CHARACTERS MENTIONED.

(THESE NAMES, IN ADDITION TO THOSE IN THE TABLE OF HISTORIC CHARACTERS, ARE MORE OR LESS FREQUENTLY MENTIONED THROUGHOUT THE WORK, BUT ONLY ONE REFERENCE TO EACH IS HERE GIVEN, AS THEY ARE READILY TRACEABLE THROUGH THE DATES AND TOPICS.)

For List of Authorities Referred to see Pages 353-358.

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A				
A. D. 1887	Abbott, Lyman	X	349	24
A. D. 1490	Abdallah, King	III	219	1
A. D. 680	Abdel, Rahman	I	40	2 1
A. D. 1300	Aben Jussuf, King of Morocco	VII	146	1 2
A. D. 1758	Abercrombie, Lord	I	171	3
A. D. 1796	Abercromby, Sir Ralph	XI	184	13
A. D. 1570	Abulfazi	XI	124	18
A. D. 1483	Abul Hacen, King of Granada	III	209	2 1
A. D. 1062	Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen	IV	76	4
A. D. 1826	Adams, John Quincy, President	XI	251	19
B. C. 111	Adherbal	V	101	5
B. C. 480	Adimantus	I	238	6
B. C. 336	Æschines	V	65	7
B. C. 380	Agesilaus	I	34	7 8
A. D. 44	Agrippa, King Herod	IX	16	5 9
A. D. 54	Agrippina, Empress	VIII	366	5 9
A. D. 1898	Aguinaldo, Gen. Emilio	XII	235	24
B. C. 83	Ahenobarbus	III	79	5
B. C. 550	Ahmes II	I	100	10
A. D. 1240	Albert, Count of Hapsburg	XI	22	20 14
A. D. 1278	Albert, Duke of Austria	XI	28	20 14
A. D. 1621	Alden, John	II	339	3
A. D. 1525	Alençon, Duke of	II	122	12
A. D. 1160	Alexander III, Pope	IX	71	4
A. D. 1493	Alexander VI, Pope	X	65	4
A. D. 1884	Alexander, Prince of Bulgaria	XII	38	14
A. D. 1807	Alexander I, Tzar	II	33	13 14
A. D. 1855	Alexander II, Tzar	X	282	14
A. D. 1026	Alfric, Archbishop	III	132	17
A. D. 1898	Alger, Russell A	XII	187	24
A. D. 1571	Ali, Pasha	IX	163	14
A. D. 1780	Ali, Hyder	VIII	335	18
A. D. 1660	Allouéz, Father	I	277	3 19
A. D. 1530	Almagro, Diego de	II	161	19
A. D. 1174	Al Malek	IV	165	16 2
A. D. 680	Alpaide	I	39	2
A. D. 1281	Alphonso of Castile	VII	146	1
A. D. 1874	Altgeld, John P.	XII	145	24
A. D. 1570	Alva, Duke of	III	236	1 4
A. D. 1520	Alvarado, Pedro de	II	177	19

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1503	Alviano, General	III	228	1
B. C. 382	Amyntas, King	V	61	8
B. C. 470	Anaxagoras	I	109	7
A. D. 1861	Anderson, Gen. Robert	X	266	19
A. D. 1898	Anderson, Gen. Thomas M.	XII	289	24
A. D. 1780	André, Major John	VI	108	3
A. D. 1100	Anjou, Earl of	III	195	19
A. D. 1638	Anne of Austria	II	294	20 12
A. D. 1540	Anne of Cleves, Queen	VII	241	17
A. D. 1712	Anne, Queen of England	XI	84	17
A. D. 1090	Anselm, Archbishop	III	146	4
B. C. 1500	Antef the Great	I	211	10
B. C. 315	Antigonus	VII	81	8 7
A. D. 132	Antinous	IX	44	5
B. C. 41	Antonius, Lucius	III	100	5
B. C. 130	Appius Claudius	I	331	5
B. C. 90	Aquilius, Manius	III	69	5
A. D. 1882	Arabi Pacha	X	374	24
B. C. 80	Archelaus	III	59	7 5
A. D. 1706	Argyle, Duke of	IX	135	17
B. C. 490	Aristides	I	234	6
B. C. 80	Ariston	III	59	5
A. D. 1024	Arletta	I	47	12
A. D. 1812	Armstrong, Gen. John	XI	312	24
A. D. 1181	Arnaud, Chatillon de	IV	165	16
A. D. 1780	Arnold, Benedict	VI	11	3
A. D. 850	Arnulf, King	III	137	2
B. C. 280	Arsinoë, Queen	VII	85	10
A. D. 1097	Arslan Kilidje	IV	121	16
B. C. 480	Artemisia, Queen	I	236	6 7
A. D. 1881	Arthur, Chester A., President	X	245	19
A. D. 1200	Arthur, Prince	V	240	17
A. D. 1346	Arundel, Earl of	I	57	17
B. C. 1050	Ascanius	I	83	5
A. D. 1645	Ashley, Lord	I	143	17
A. D. 750	Astolphus, King	V	12	2 4
A. D. 1530	Atahualpa	II	163	19
A. D. 1113	Atheling, Edgar	IV	149	17
A. D. 890	Athelstan	I	267	17
A. D. 1689	Athole, Marquis of	XI	78	15
B. C. 410	Attalus	III	167	21
B. C. 130	Attalus of Pergamos	I	331	5
B. C. 76	Atticus, T. Pomponius	I	91	5
A. D. 1796	Augereau, General	II	22	13
A. D. 1881	Augusta Victoria, Empress	X	359	24
B. C. 102	Aurelia	III	5	5
A. D. 1878	Ayoob Khan	X	377	18
B				
A. D. 1812	Bagration, Peter, Prince	XII	8	13
A. D. 1560	Bahram Khan, Regent	XI	122	18
A. D. 1864	Bailey, Lieut-Col. Joseph	XI	376	19
A. D. 1809	Baird, Gen. Sir David	XI	186	12 13
A. D. 1402	Bajazet, Sultan	IV	188	14
A. D. 1175	Baldwin the Leper, King	IV	165	1

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1330	Baliol, Edward	I	55	17
A. D. 1282	Baliol, John	VI	275	17
A. D. 1381	Ball, John	VII	188	17
A. D. 1898	Ballot-Beaupre, Justice	X	398	24
A. D. 1632	Baltimore, Lord	I	290	19
A. D. 1864	Banks, Gen. Nathaniel P.	XI	376	19
A. D. 1768	Banks, Sir Joseph	V	279	17 23
A. D. 1623	Barberini, Cardinal	X	25	15
A. D. 1812	Barclay, Robert H., Commodore	XI	278	23 3
A. D. 1795	Barlow, Joel	II	384	3 19
A. D. 1889	Barnato, Barnett Isaacs	X	379	24
A. D. 1795	Barras, P. F. J. N.	II	9	13
A. D. 1807	Barron, Commodore	IV	388	3
A. D. 1815	Barrow, Sir John	X	115	22
A. D. 1848	Batthyanyi, Count Louis	XI	136	14
A. D. 1665	Baxter, Richard	XI	49	17
A. D. 1640	Bayard, Samuel	XII	157	19
A. D. 1855	Bazaine, General	X	286	12
A. D. 1874	Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli	XII	311	17
A. D. 1794	Beauharnais, Gen. E.	V	310	13
A. D. 1431	Beauvais, Bishop	VII	32	12
A. D. 1680	Beauvilliers, Duchess of	V	189	12
A. D. 1298	Beck, Bishop	VI	292	17
A. D. 1157	Becket, Thomas A', Archbishop	III	195	17 4
A. D. 730	Bede, Venerable	V	26	17
A. D. 622	Beker, Abu	VIII	274	14
A. D. 532	Beli, Tzar	VII	125	5 21
A. D. 1606	Bellarmine, Cardinal	XI	109	4
A. D. 1892	Benham, William E., Captain	XII	175	24
A. D. 1870	Bennett, James G.	X	108	22
A. D. 1807	Benningsen, L. A. T., Count	XII	10	13
A. D. 1876	Benteen, General	X	254	19
A. D. 1800	Benton, Jesse, Colonel	XI	339	19
A. D. 1841	Benton, Thomas H.	X	329	19
B. C. 309	Berenice, Queen	VII	84	10
A. D. 876	Berenger, Count	III	135	12 2
A. D. 1725	Bering, Captain	X	115	22
A. D. 1805	Bernadotte, Marshal	II	47	13
A. D. 1465	Berry, Duke of	IV	222	12
A. D. 1798	Berthier, Marshal	V	323	13
A. D. 1815	Bertrand, M.	II	39	13
B. C. 332	Bessus	I	20	6
A. D. 1540	Beza, Theodore, Reformer	XI	119	4
A. D. 1897	Billot, General	X	396	24
A. D. 1868	Bingham, John A.	XII	95	19
A. D. 1864	Birney, Gen. D. M.	VIII	91	19
A. D. 1050	Bivar, Don Roderigo Diaz de	VI	243	1
A. D. 1000	Bjarne	I	106	22 15
A. D. 1356	Black Prince, Edward	I	56	17
A. D. 1860	Black, Jeremiah S.	XII	103	19
A. D. 1876	Blaine, James Gillespie	XII	120	25
A. D. 1353	Blanca, Donna	IV	194	1
A. D. 1898	Blanco, Gen. Ramon	XII	205	24
A. D. 1774	Bland, Richard	III	349	3
A. D. 1826	Blessington, Countess of	X	216	17
A. D. 1896	Bliss, Cornelius N.	XII	187	24

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1346	Blois, Count of	I	58	12
A. D. 1796	Blount, William	XII	157	19
A. D. 1898	Blue, Victor	XII	216	24
A. D. 1484	Boabdil, King of Granada	III	211	1
A. D. 1490	Bobadilla, Francisco	II	140	1 19
A. D. 1600	Bogall, Bashaw	III	289	14
A. D. 1898	Boisdeffre, General	X	398	24
A. D. 1574	Boisot, Admiral	XI	15	15
A. D. 1551	Bolsec, Jerome Hermes	XI	119	4
A. D. 1263	Bonaventura, Cardinal	XI	104	4
A. D. 1297	Boniface VIII, Pope	I	362	4
A. D. 1871	Bonjean, Archbishop of Paris	X	195	17 12
A. D. 1865	Booth, J. Wilkes	VIII	20	19
A. D. 1496	Borgia, Pope Alexander	VI	324	4
A. D. 1758	Boscawen, Admiral	III	337	3 17
A. D. 1855	Bosquet, General	X	284	12
A. D. 1689	Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux	V	192	23
A. D. 1567	Bothwell, Earl of	II	237	17
A. D. 1720	Bourbon, Duke of	I	321	12
A. D. 1868	Boutwell, George S.	XII	99	19
A. D. 1688	Boyle, Robert, Chemist	XI	72	26
A. D. 1755	Braddock, Gen. E.	IV	329	3
A. D. 1877	Bradley, Joseph P.	XII	121	24
A. D. 1862	Bragg, Gen. Braxton	X	266	19
A. D. 1572	Brahe, Tycho	V	214	15 23
A. D. 1756	Braun, Marshal	IV	29	20
A. D. 1865	Breckenridge, J. C.	VIII	122	19
B. C. 65	Brennus	III	72	2
A. D. 1805	Bridgewater, Duke of	II	385	17
A. D. 1840	Brisbane, Albert, Communist	XI	380	19
A. D. 1170	Brito, Richard	III	196	17 4
A. D. 1871	Brogie, Duc de	XII	76	13
A. D. 1813	Broke, Capt. P. V.	XI	261	19
A. D. 1898	Brooke, Gen. John R.	XII	207	24
A. D. 1859	Brown, John, of Osawatomie	X	321	19
A. D. 1356	Bruce, David	I	60	17
B. C. 44	Brutus, Decimus	VI	201	5
B. C. 60	Brutus, Marcus Junius	III	8	5
A. D. 1898	Bryan, William Jennings	XII	187	24
A. D. 1627	Buckingham, Duke of	V	131	17
A. D. 1862	Buckner, Gen. S. B.	VIII	60	19
A. D. 1861	Buell, Gen. D. C.	VIII	60	19
A. D. 1899	Buller, Gen. Sir Redvers	XII	308	24
A. D. 1815	Bulow, General	II	71	12 20
A. D. 1861	Bulwer-Lytton, Sir Edward	XI	218	27
A. D. 1665	Bunyan, John	XI	49	17
A. D. 1220	Burgh, Hubert de	VI	261	17
A. D. 1862	Burgevine, Henry	XII	56	24
A. D. 1571	Burghley, Baron	XII	309	17
A. D. 1777	Burgoyne, Gen. John	I	173	3 17
A. D. 1560	Burleigh, Wm. Cecil, Lord	VIII	222	17
A. D. 1688	Burnet, Bishop	IX	104	17
A. D. 1862	Burnside, Gen. Ambrose E.	VIII	18	19
A. D. 1806	Burr, Aaron	XI	361	19
A. D. 1861	Butler, Gen. Benjamin F.	XI	376	19
A. D. 1634	Butler, Captain	V	224	15 20

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1874	Butt, Isaac, Home Ruler	XI	238	17
A. D. 1805	Buxhovden, General	II	41	12 20
C				
A. D. 1497	Cabot, Sebastian	II	142	19 17
A. D. 1445	Cade, Jack	VII	212	17
A. D. 1480	Cadiz, Marquis of	II	142	1 19
B. C. 383	Cadmus	I	35	7 8
A. D. 1776	Cadwalader, Gen. T.	VI	24	3
B. C. 46	Cæsarion	III	115	5
A. D. 1760	Calas, Jean, Huguenot	XI	154	13 17
A. D. 1804	Calder, Admiral	II	31	17 12
A. D. 732	Caldus, King	I	44	2
A. D. 1842	Calhoun, John C.	XI	321	19
B. C. 250	Callimachus	VII	86	7 10
A. D. 1115	Calixtus II, Pope	IV	139	4
A. D. 1365	Calverly, Hugh	IV	215	17 12
A. D. 1632	Calvert, Cecilius, Lord Baltimore	II	362	3 19
A. D. 1898	Camara, Admiral	XII	224	24
A. D. 1799	Cambacères, Chancellor	II	16	13
A. D. 1898	Cambon, Jules	XII	224	24
A. D. 1861	Cameron, Simon	VIII	14	19
A. D. 1857	Campbell, Sir Colin	X	373	17
A. D. 1530	Campeggio, Cardinal	VII	239	4 17
A. D. 1898	Campos, Marshal	XII	203	24
A. D. 1822	Canning, George	XI	196	17
A. D. 1675	Canonchet	V	302	3
A. D. 1898	Canovas, del Castillo	XII	204	24
A. D. 1859	Canrobert, Marshal	XII	78	15
A. D. 1890	Caprivi, Count	X	363	15
A. D. 1893	Carlisle, John G.	XII	144	24
A. D. 741	Carloman	I	41	2 12
A. D. 1545	Carlos, Don, son of Philip II.	III	234	1
A. D. 1603	Carr, Earl of Somerset	I	66	17
A. D. 1864	Carroll, General	VIII	91	19
A. D. 1784	Cartwright, Edmund	III	382	23
A. D. 1621	Carver, Gov. John	II	344	3
A. D. 1629	Casimir, V.	IV	237	14
A. D. 1828	Cass, Lewis	VII	363	3
B. C. 55	Cassivellaunus	III	21	5
A. D. 175	Cassius, Avidius	II	258	5
B. C. 50	Cassius, Quintus	III	25	5
A. D. 1643	Castelnau, Marquis de	V	187	12 17
A. D. 1781	Caswell, General	I	186	3
A. D. 1662	Catherine of Braganza	XI	49	17
B. C. 50	Cato, Marcus	III	27	5
B. C. 87	Catullus	II	103	5
A. D. 1878	Cavagnovi, Col. Louis	X	377	18
A. D. 1898	Cavaignac, M.	X	397	24
A. D. 1882	Cavendish, Lord Frederick	XI	240	17
A. D. 1881	Cavendish, Lord Frederick	XII	304	17
A. D. 1800	Cavour, Michele Guiseppe	XII	66	15
A. D. 1605	Cecil, Earl Robert	XII	309	17
A. D. 1830	Cecil, Lord Robert	XII	309	17
A. D. 1571	Cecil, William, Baron Burghley	XII	309	17
A. D. 1568	Cecil, Sir W., Lord Burleigh	I	268	17

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1898	Cerrero, Gen. Don Rafael	XII	225	24
A. D. 1898	Cervera, Admiral y Topete	XII	212	24
A. D. 1898	Cespedes, Charles M. de	XII	203	24
A. D. 1879	Cetewayo, Zulu King	X	374	19
B. C. 62	Cethegus	I	94	5
B. C. 380	Chabrias	I	251	7
A. D. 1881	Chandler, William E.	XII	141	24
A. D. 1367	Chandos, Sir John	IV	201	17
A. D. 1820	Channing, William Ellery	X	343	19
A. D. 1857	Chamberlain, Gen. Neville	X	376	19
A. D. 1534	Charbot, Admiral	III	181	17 22
A. D. 1847	Charles Albert of Sardinia	XII	66	15
A. D. 1627	Charles I, England	V	248	17
A. D. 1662	Charles II, England	X	36	23 17
A. D. 1494	Charles VIII of France	II	129	12
A. D. 1809	Charles, Archduke	II	34	13
A. D. 1520	Charles of Bourbon	II	116	12
A. D. 1742	Charles of Lorraine	IV	13	12
A. D. 1357	Charles of Navarre	VI	307	12
A. D. 911	Charles the Simple	III	136	2 12
A. D. 1761	Charlotte, Princess	IX	202	17
B. C. 470	Charmides	I	119	7
A. D. 1868	Chase, Salmon P.	XII	94	19 24
A. D. 1594	Chastel, Father	III	157	12
A. D. 1565	Chastelard, Pierre de	II	236	12
A. D. 1781	Chastellux, Chevalier de	VI	137	3
A. D. 1603	Chastes, de	I	164	17 12 3
A. D. 1815	Châteaubriand, F. A.	XII	10	13
A. D. 1745	Châteauroux, Duchess of	I	321	12
A. D. 1738	Chatelet, Marquise de	XI	149	13 17
A. D. 1813	Chauncey, Commodore Isaac	XI	278	19
A. D. 1600	Chevreuse, Duke of	V	189	12
A. D. 680	Childebrand	I	39	2
A. D. 466	Childeric	VI	235	2
A. D. 1768	Choiseul, Duke of	II	200	12 14
A. D. 542	Chosroes, King	VII	127	5 6 21
A. D. 1520	Christian II	V	199	15 20
A. D. 1810	Christian August, Prince	XI	129	13
A. D. 107	Chrysostomus	IX	35	4 5
A. D. 1280	Cimabuë, G.	VII	181	23 14
B. C. 470	Cimon	I	109	7
B. C. 280	Cineas	II	82	7
B. C. 87	Cinna, L. Cornelius	II	95	5
A. D. 1662	Clarendon, Edward Hyde, First Earl of	XI	49	17
A. D. 54	Claudius, Emperor	VIII	366	5
A. D. 1643	Claverhouse, Graham of	XI	73	17
A. D. 1815	Clay, Henry	XI	252	28 19
B. C. 330	Cleander	I	25	7
A. D. 1862	Cleburne, Gen. P.	VIII	127	19
A. D. 1080	Clement III, Pope	IV	78	4
A. D. 1589	Clement, Jacques	III	161	12
B. C. 371	Cleombrotus, King	I	35	7
B. C. 422	Cleon	VI	171	7
A. D. 1884	Cleveland, President G.	X	246	23 19
A. D. 1837	Cleveland, Richard F.	XII	137	24 19
A. D. 1777	Clinton, Gen. Sir H.	I	173	3 17

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1553	Clinton, Lord	I	377	17
E. C. 59	Clodius Pulcher, Publius	I	95	5
A. D. 680	Clotaire IV	I	39	2
A. D. 1603	Cobham, Lord	I	65	17
E. C. 1068	Codrus, King of Athens	I	219	7
A. D. 1898	Coghlan, Capt. Joseph B.	XII	242	24
A. D. 1615	Coke, Sir Edward	X	18	17
A. D. 1680	Colbert, J. B.	II	295	12
A. D. 1805	Collingwood, Admiral	VI	376	17 13
A. D. 1538	Colonna, Vittoria	II	226	15 23
A. D. 1490	Columbus, Bartholomew	II	140	1 19
A. D. 1490	Columbus, Don Diego	II	142	1 19
A. D. 1480	Comines, Philip de	IV	229	12
A. D. 176	Commodus, Emperor	II	258	5
A. D. 1095	Comnenos, Alexios, Emperor	IV	104	14 4
A. D. 1640	Concini	VII	273	15
A. D. 1866	Conkling, Roscoe	X	243	19 23
A. D. 900	Conrad I, Emperor	IV	71	2 20
A. D. 1773	Cook, Capt. James	X	353	17
A. D. 1782	Coote, Eyre	VIII	335	18
A. D. 1533	Cop, Nicholas	XI	116	4
A. D. 1745	Cope, Sir John	XI	90	17
A. D. 1898	Coppinger, John J.	XII	207	24
A. D. 1585	Corisande, La Belle	III	160	12
E. C. 180	Cornelia	I	336	5
A. D. 1879	Cornell, Alonzo B.	XII	122	24
A. D. 1840	Cornell, Ezra	IX	272	23
A. D. 1850	Corwin, Thomas	XI	332	19 24
A. D. 1420	Coster, Laurens	V	384	23
E. C. 74	Cotta	III	70	5
A. D. 1898	Cotton, Capt. C. S.	XII	253	24
A. D. 1868	Covode, John	XII	110	19 25
A. D. 1894	Coxey, James G.	XII	145	24
A. D. 1867	Cranborne, Lord Salisbury	XII	310	17
A. D. 1531	Cranmer, Archbishop	VII	240	17
E. C. 60	Crassus	I	94	5
A. D. 1863	Crittenden, Gen. T. T.	X	266	19
E. C. 546	Cræsus	I	100	10
A. D. 1830	Croker, John Wilson	XI	221	
A. D. 1812	Crompton, Samuel	III	377	23
A. D. 1530	Cromwell, Thomas	VII	240	17
A. D. 1876	Crook, Gen. George	X	253	19
A. D. 1757	Cumberland, Duke of	IV	37	20
A. D. 1278	Cunigunda, Queen	XI	28	14 20
A. D. 1855	Curtis, Benjamin R.	XI	351	19 24
D				
A. D. 1675	Dablon, Father	I	278	22
A. D. 1845	Dallas, George M.	XI	329	19 24
A. D. 1780	D'Alembert, J.	II	199	23 12
E. C. 470	Damon	I	109	7
A. D. 1789	Danton, G. J.	III	303	13
A. D. 1658	Dara, Cheqouh, Prince	VIII	306	18 17
A. D. 1412	Darc, Jacques	VII	10	12
A. D. 1796	D'Argenteau, General	II	21	13
A. D. 1565	Darnley, Lord	II	236	17

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1780	Darwin, Erasmus	X	47	23
A. D. 1672	D'Aumont, Marshal	II	302	12
A. D. 1756	Daun, Count L. J. M.	IV	30	20
A. D. 1812	Daviess, Col. Joseph H.	XI	314	19 24
A. D. 1861	Davis, Jefferson	XI	383	19 29
A. D. 1805	Davoust, Marshal	II	41	13
A. D. 1818	Davy, Sir Humphrey	II	394	23
A. D. 1866	Deak, Francis	XI	140	14
A. D. 1776	Deane, Silas	IV	381	3
A. D. 1776	Decatur, Capt. Stephen	XI	267	19
A. D. 101	Decebalus	IX	32	5
B. C. 280	Decius	II	80	5 7
B. C. 300	Deidamia	II	78	7
B. C. 300	Demetrius Poliorcetes	II	78	7
B. C. 470	Democritus	I	109	7
A. D. 1852	Derby, Earl of	X	217	17
A. D. 1866	Derby, Earl of	XII	310	17
A. D. 1170	Dermet, King	III	197	17
A. D. 1650	Descartes, René	IX	174	23
A. D. 774	Desiderius, King	V	6	2
A. D. 1789	Desmoulins, Camille	III	303	13
A. D. 1800	Dessaix, General	II	17	13
A. D. 1785	Deux Ponts, Duke of	IX	200	20
A. D. 1892	Devonshire, Duke of	XII	305	17
A. D. 1898	Dewey, Admiral George	XII	232	24
A. D. 1837	Dewey, Dr. Julius Yemans	XII	232	24
A. D. 1642	D'Enghien, Duke	V	170	12
A. D. 1778	D'Estaing, Count	III	301	13
A. D. 1503	D'Este, Cardinal	X	135	14
A. D. 1598	D'Estrées, Gabrielle	III	158	12
A. D. 1777	De Kalb, Baron J.	VI	84	3
A. D. 1881	De Long, Lieutenant	X	119	22
A. D. 1074	Dias, Donna Ximena	VI	244	1
A. D. 1830	Diebitsch, H. K. F. A., Count	XII	19	14
A. D. 1898	Diederichs, Admiral von	XII	236	24
A. D. 1755	Dinwiddie, Governor	I	193	3
B. C. 400	Dionysius of Syracuse	X	6	10
A. D. 240	Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria	XI	111	30
A. D. 1800	Disraeli, Isaac	X	215	23
A. D. 1874	Disraeli, Benjamin	XII	310	17
B. C. 75	Dolabella	III	6	5
A. D. 1538	D'Olando, Francesco	II	230	23
B. C. 44	Domitius	III	103	5
A. D. 1292	Donati, Gemma	VII	155	23
A. D. 1630	Donati, Leonardo	X	31	23
A. D. 1535	Donnacona	III	183	3 22
A. D. 1294	Douglas, William	VI	288	17
A. D. 1859	Douglas, Stephen A.	XI	356	19
A. D. 1756	Dowlah, Surajah	VIII	319	18
B. C. 624	Draco	I	219	7
A. D. 1899	Dreyfus, Mathieu	X	395	24
A. D. 1758	Drucour, Governor	III	337	3 12
B. C. 120	Drusus, Livius	I	335	5
A. D. 1833	Duane, William J.	XI	346	19 24
A. D. 1770	Du Barry, Madame	I	322	12 13
A. D. 1720	Dubois, Cardinal	I	321	12

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1554	Dudley, Lord Guilford	III	250	17
B. C. 58	Dumnorix	III	10	5
A. D. 1781	Dundas, Colonel	VI	138	3
A. D. 1643	Dundee, John Graham, Viscount	XI	73	17
A. D. 1771	Dunmore, Lord	I	194	3
A. D. 1751	Dupleix, Governor	VIII	318	18 12
A. D. 1585	Du Plessis, Armand	V	126	12
A. D. 1685	Du Plessis Family	X	385	1
A. D. 1754	Du Quesne, Governor	VI	7	3 12
E				
A. D. 1898	Eagan, Gen. Charles P.	XII	190	24
A. D. 1864	Early, Gen. Jubal	VIII	129	19
A. D. 1781	Eaton, Gen. William	I	187	3
A. D. 1793	Edgeworth, Abbé	III	305	13
A. D. 1017	Edmund	III	130	17
A. D. 1017	Edward I of England	III	129	17
A. D. 1041	Edward the Confessor	III	131	17
A. D. 1475	Edward IV	I	128	17
A. D. 1264	Edward, Prince	VI	266	17
A. D. 1017	Edwy	III	129	17
A. D. 1710	Egede, Hans	I	108	22
A. D. 1026	Egelnoth, Bishop	III	132	17
A. D. 1557	Egmont, Count	III	235	1 12
A. D. 1154	Eleanor, Queen	III	195	17
A. D. 1223	Elias, Franciscan vicar	XI	105	17
A. D. 1628	Eliot, Sir John	XI	30	17
A. D. 1795	Elliott, Sir Gilbert	XI	184	17
A. D. 1812	Elliott, James D.	XI	284	19
A. D. 1570	Elizabeth, Princess of France	III	239	12
A. D. 1757	Elizabeth, Empress of Russia	IV	32	20
A. D. 1017	Emma, Queen	III	130	17
A. D. 1885	Endicott, William C.	XII	305	24
A. D. 1857	English, William H.	XI	356	19 24
A. D. 1490	Enriquez, Beatrice	II	137	1
A. D. 1518	Erasmus, Desiderius	XI	113	4
A. D. 1595	Essex, Earl of	I	64	17
A. D. 1898	Esterhazy, Major Walzin	X	395	24
A. D. 596	Ethelbert	III	188	17
A. D. 978	Ethelred	III	129	17
A. D. 850	Ethelwulf	I	259	17
A. D. 1415	Eu, Count of	VII	207	12
B. C. 250	Euclid	VII	86	23 7
A. D. 720	Eudes, Duke of Aquitania	I	40	2
A. D. 600	Eudoxia	VII	136	14 6
A. D. 1704	Eugene, Prince	IX	115	17 15
A. D. 1853	Eugenie, Empress	IX	312	12
A. D. 1146	Eugenius III, Pope	V	125	4
B. C. 470	Euripides	I	109	23
B. C. 214	Euthydemus, King	V	73	5 10
A. D. 1898	Eulate, Captain	XII	205	24
A. D. 1868	Evarts, William M.	XII	96	19 25
A. D. 1864	Ewell, General	VIII	130	19
F				
B. C. 217	Fabius, Q. Maximus, "Cunctator"	V	47	5
A. D. 1890	Fairchild, Charles S.	XII	196	24

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1750	Fairfax, Lord Thomas	VI	6	17
A. D. 1645	Fairfax, Sir Thomas	I	139	17
A. D. 1170	Fair Rosamund	III	197	17
A. D. 1413	Falstaff, Sir John	VII	204	17
A. D. 1536	Farel, William	XI	117	4
A. D. 1861	Farragut, Admiral David G.	XII	233	19
A. D. 1810	Farsen, Prince Axel von	XI	129	13
A. D. 1449	Faust, or Fust, Johann	V	385	23
A. D. 140	Faustina	II	257	5
B. C. 753	Faustulus	I	83	5
A. D. 1871	Favre, Jules	X	185	12
A. D. 1605	Fawkes, Guy	IX	93	17
A. D. 1779	Febiger, General	I	299	3
A. D. 1590	Feizi, Arabian author	XI	124	18
A. D. 1657	Ferdinand III, Emperor	V	160	1
A. D. 1847	Ferdinand V	XI	136	14
A. D. 1526	Ferdinand of Austria	XI	134	14
A. D. 1565	Ferrara, Duke of	X	144	15
A. D. 1864	Fessenden, W. P.	VIII	19	19
A. D. 1671	Feversham, Earl of	XI	65	17 31
A. D. 1869	Field, Cyrus W.	IX	273	23
A. D. 1864	Field, General	VIII	94	19
B. C. 85	Fimbria	III	70	5
A. D. 1740	Finkenstein, Count	IV	9	20
A. D. 1870	Fish, Hamilton	IX	287	19
A. D. 1829	Fitzgerald, Vesey	XI	234	17 32
B. C. 217	Flaminius, C.	V	47	5
A. D. 1600	Flamsteed, John	XI	72	17 26
A. D. 1346	Flanders, Count of	I	58	12
A. D. 1723	Fleury, Bishop	I	321	12
A. D. 1882	Folger, Charles J.	XII	138	24
A. D. 1880	Forster, William Edward	XI	239	32 17
A. D. 1595	Fosseuse, La Belle	III	158	12
A. D. 1809	Fouché, Joseph	V	309	13
A. D. 1680	Fouquet, Minister of Finance	II	295	12
A. D. 1624	Fox, George	XI	69	26
A. D. 1848	Fox Sisters, Spiritualists	XI	380	24
A. D. 1300	Francesca di Rimini	VII	184	23
A. D. 1559	Francis II	II	234	12
A. D. 1805	Francis, Emperor	II	59	20
A. D. 1534	Francis I of France	XI	116	4
A. D. 1849	Francis Joseph of Austria	XI	137	14
A. D. 1776	Franklin, Benjamin	XI	155	13
A. D. 1700	Frederic of Denmark	VI	339	15 14
A. D. 1862	Frederic Charles, Prince	IX	346	20 12
A. D. 1888	Frederic III, Emperor	X	182	20
A. D. 1751	Frederic II, The Great	XI	157	20
A. D. 1200	Frederic II, King of the Romans	XI	22	14
A. D. 1887	Frederic William, Emperor	X	358	24
A. D. 1898	Fremont, Lieut.-Com. John C.	XII	238	24
A. D. 1588	Frobisher, Sir Martin	III	241	23 17
A. D. 1898	Frye, William P.	XII	224	24
A. D. 1118	Fulbert, Canon	V	113	4 12
A. D. 1100	Fulchard, Abbot	III	148	17
B. C. 63	Fulvia	I	94	5
A. D. 1449	Fust, Johann	V	385	23

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
G				
A. D. 1621	Gabor, Bethlem.	V	222	20
A. D. 1897	Gage, Lyman J.	XII	187	24
A. D. 1754	Gage, Gen. T.	VI	15	3 17
A. D. 1899	Gallifet, General de	X	398	24
A. D. 1689	Gallitzin, Prince.	VI	337	14
A. D. 1814	Gallatin, Albert	VII	337	3
A. D. 1880	Garcia, Calixto	XII	203	24
A. D. 1115	Garenne, William de	IV	149	17
A. D. 1880	Garfield, James Abram	XII	132	19 23
A. D. 1859	Garibaldi, Giuseppe	XII	69	15 24
A. D. 1885	Garland, Augustus Hill	XII	139	24
A. D. 1898	Garnica, Don José de	XII	225	24
A. D. 1897	Gary, James A.	XII	187	24
A. D. 1622	Gaston of Orleans	V	127	12
A. D. 1649	Gauden, Bishop	XI	34	17
A. D. 430	Genserik, King of Vandals	IX	65	2 21
A. D. 1899	George, Grand Duke of Russia	XII	54	24
A. D. 1732	George II, England	II	357	17
A. D. 1800	George III, England	II	30	17 3
A. D. 1584	Gerard, Balthazar	XI	12	15
A. D. 1864	Getty, Gen. G. W.	VIII	90	19
A. D. 1876	Gibbon, Gen. J.	X	253	19
A. D. 1815	Gibbs, General	VII	367	3 19
A. D. 1868	Gladstone, William Ewart	XI	214	17 23
A. D. 1400	Glendower, Owen	VII	195	17
A. D. 1815	Gneisenau, General	VII	296	20 13
A. D. 1704	Godolphin, Lord	IX	128	17
A. D. 1050	Godwin, Earl	II	278	17
A. D. 1849	Golovin, Ivan	XII	26	14
A. D. 1895	Gomez, Maximo	XII	204	24
A. D. 1617	Gondomar	I	67	1 22
A. D. 1715	Gordon, Alexander	XI	86	17
A. D. 1885	Gordon, Gen. Charles George	X	375	17
A. D. 1780	Gordon, Lord George	IX	203	17
A. D. 1848	Görgei, General.	XI	137	14
A. D. 1893	Gorman, Arthur Pue	XII	144	24
A. D. 1807	Gortchakoff, Alexander	XII	10	13 14
A. D. 1862	Gortchakoff, Michael	XII	30	14
A. D. 1606	Gosnold, Bartholomew	III	290	22
A. D. 1199	Gourdon, Bertrand de	IV	155	16
A. D. 1815	Gourgaud, Baron G.	II	39	13
A. D. 1882	Gourko, General	XII	49	14
A. D. 1672	Graham, John Claverhouse	XI	73	17
A. D. 1848	Graham, Sir James	XI	218	17 32
A. D. 1840	Graham, Sylvester	XI	379	24
A. D. 1898	Graham, William M.	XII	207	24
A. D. 1580	Grammont, Countess of	III	155	12
A. D. 1857	Grant, Sir Hope	X	373	18
A. D. 1861	Grant, Ulysses S.	XI	375	19
A. D. 1559	Granvella, Cardinal	XI	6	15
A. D. 1782	Grasse, Admiral de	III	302	12 17
A. D. 1898	Gray, George	XII	224	24
A. D. 1860	Greeley, Horace	VIII	50	19
A. D. 1881	Greeley, Lieut. G. W.	X	119	22
A. D. 1898	Greene, Francis V	XII	298	24

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 590	Gregory I, Pope	III	187	2
A. D. 1240	Gregory IX, Pope	I	362	4
A. D. 1273	Gregory X, Pope	X	23	4
A. D. 1837	Gregory XVI, Pope	X	367	4 15
A. D. 1877	Grévy, President J.	X	201	12
A. D. 1898	Gridley, Capt. Charles V.	XII	251	24
A. D. 680	Grimoald	I	39	2
A. D. 1868	Groesbeck, William S.	XII	97	19
A. D. 1871	Grosvenor, Col. Thomas W.	XII	166	19 24
A. D. 1240	Grossteste, Robert	VI	268	4
A. D. 1650	Grotius	IX	174	23
A. D. 1815	Grouchy, Marshal	II	37	13
A. D. 1819	Gruber, Jacob	XI	345	19
A. D. 1820	Gudzinska, Countess Joanna	XII	15	14
A. D. 1085	Guiscard, Robert	IV	88	4
A. D. 1572	Guise, Duke of	III	154	12
A. D. 1881	Guiteau, C. J.	X	238	19
A. D. 1772	Gustavus III of Sweden	II	200	14
A. D. 890	Guthrum the Dane	I	260	2 17
A. D. 1187	Guy de Lusignan	IV	166	12
A. D. 1859	Gyulai, General	XII	78	13 15
H				
A. D. 1850	Hale, John P.	XI	35	19
A. D. 1860	Hall, Dr. Charles	X	119	22
A. D. 1861	Halleck, Gen. H. W.	VIII	60	19
A. D. 1619	Halley, Edmund	XI	72	26
B. C. 247	Hamilcar	V	43	11
A. D. 1706	Hamilton, Duke of	IX	134	17
A. D. 1799	Hamilton, Sir William and Lady	VI	369	17
A. D. 1895	Hammond, John H.	X	381	24
A. D. 1629	Hampden, John	XI	31	17
A. D. 1777	Hampton, Col. Wade	I	296	3
A. D. 1776	Hancock, John	I	352	3
A. D. 1861	Hancock, Gen. W. S.	VIII	84	19
A. D. 1346	Harcourt, Count	I	58	12
A. D. 1066	Hardicanute	II	278	17
A. D. 1857	Harding, George	XII	102	19
A. D. 1805	Hardy, Capt. T.	VI	377	17
A. D. 1673	Harlai, Archbishop	IV	266	23
B. C. 324	Harpalus	I	246	7
A. D. 1774	Harrison, Benjamin	III	349	3
A. D. 1888	Harrison, President Benjamin	X	246	19 23
A. D. 1264	Hartman, Count of Kyburg	XI	23	14
A. D. 1619	Harvey, Dr. William	XI	72	17 26
B. C. 229	Hasdrubal	V	43	11
A. D. 1558	Hawke, Admiral	III	241	17
A. D. 1567	Hawkins, Captain	I	268	17
A. D. 1898	Hawkins, Gen. Hamilton S.	XII	284	24
A. D. 1858	Hay, John	XII	190	24
A. D. 1854	Hayashi	XI	369	19 33
A. D. 1852	Hayes, Lucy Webb	XII	118	24
A. D. 1860	Hayes, Dr. Isaac I.	X	119	22
A. D. 1876	Hayes, President Rutherford B.	VIII	66	19
A. D. 1849	Haynan, Baron von	XI	138	14
A. D. 1830	Hayne, Robert Y.	VII	380	19

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
B. C. 962	Hecataeus	I	32	7
A. D. 1218	Hedwige, Kyburg	XI	22	14
B. C. 250	Hegesias	VII	86	7 10
A. D. 1120	Heloise, Abbess	V	113	12
A. D. 1898	Henry, Colonel	X	396	24
A. D. 1559	Henry II of France	XI	6	2
A. D. 1587	Henry III of France	II	238	12
A. D. 1308	Henry VIII of Germany	VII	156	20
A. D. 1399	Henry of Lancaster	VII	195	17
A. D. 1770	Henry, Prince of Prussia	II	202	20
A. D. 1841	Herndon, W. H.	VIII	9	19
A. D. 1886	Hewitt, Abram S.	XII	277	24
A. D. 1640	Hewson, Colonel	XI	69	17 26
B. C. 150	Hiempal	V	100	5
B. C. 270	Hiero II, King	VI	195	7
A. D. 1073	Hildebrand	IV	77	4
A. D. 783	Hildegard, Queen	V	9	2
A. D. 1862	Hill, Gen. D. H.	X	259	19
A. D. 1813	Hillyar, James	XI	292	17
A. D. 1874	Hinzpeter, Dr.	X	358	20
A. D. 1894	Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Prince	X	365	20
A. D. 1273	Hohenzollern, Frederic von	XI	25	2
A. D. 405	Honorius, Emperor	III	167	5
A. D. 1223	Honorius, Pope	XI	106	4
A. D. 1864	Hood, Gen. J. B.	VIII	118	19
A. D. 1862	Hooker, Gen. Joseph	X	259	19
A. D. 1809	Hope, Sir John	XI	189	17
A. D. 1854	Hopkins, Dr. Mark	X	237	23
A. D. 1567	Horn, Count	XI	8	15
A. D. 1637	Hortensius	X	31	23
A. D. 1399	Hotspur, Harry	VII	190	17
A. D. 1588	Howard, Admiral	III	241	17
A. D. 1540	Howard, Queen Catherine	VII	242	17
A. D. 1864	Howard, Gen. O. O.	VIII	110	19
A. D. 1776	Howe, Richard, Lord, Admiral	VI	9	3
A. D. 1776	Howe, Sir William	VI	9	3
A. D. 1530	Huascar of Peru	II	163	19
A. D. 1839	Hudson, William L.	X	354	19
A. D. 1812	Hull, Gen. William	XI	361	19
A. D. 1850	Hulsemann, Chevalier	XI	139	15
A. D. 1542	Humayun, Mogul, Emperor	XI	122	18
A. D. 1766	Hume, David	XI	169	17
A. D. 1832	Hume, Joseph	X	216	17
A. D. 1850	Hung Leu Tseuen, Rebel Chief	XII	55	23
A. D. 1635	Hutchinson, Ann	XI	42	19
A. D. 1678	Huyghens, H. Van Zulichem	X	44	23
B. C. 415	Hyperbolus	VI	162	7
I				
A. D. 1881	Ignatief, General	XII	38	14
A. D. 107	Ignatius, St.	IX	38	5 4
A. D. 1868	Ingersoll, Robert G.	XII	166	24
A. D. 9	Ingomar	I	78	20
A. D. 1210	Innocent III, Pope	XI	102	4
A. D. 1247	Innocent IV, Pope	IX	82	4
A. D. 1486	Innocent VIII, Pope	VII	229	4

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
B. C. 375	Iphicrates	VII	47	7
A. D. 1645	Ireton, Gen. Henry	I	142	17
A. D. 1520	Isabella of Avila	I	70	1 22
A. D. 1312	Isabella of France, Queen of England	I	55	17
A. D. 1709	Ismail, Pasha	II	269	14 15
J				
A. D. 1819	Jackson, Andrew	XI	306	19
A. D. 1862	Jackson, Gen. C. F.	X	258	19
A. D. 800	Jaffar the Barmecide	V	41	2
A. D. 1758	Jaffier, Meer	VIII	319	18
A. D. 1603	James I of England	XI	70	17
A. D. 1689	James II of England	II	298	17
A. D. 1513	James IV of Scotland	VII	238	17
A. D. 1542	James V of Scotland	II	233	17
A. D. 1587	James VI of Scotland	II	238	17
A. D. 1895	Jameson, Doctor	X	381	24
A. D. 1898	Jandenes, General	XII	292	24
A. D. 1590	Jansen, Zacharias	X	31	23
A. D. 1800	Jefferson, Thomas	XII	147	19
A. D. 1685	Jeffreys, Lord George	XI	62	17
A. D. 1848	Jellachich, Ban of Croatia	XI	137	14
A. D. 1802	Jenner, Sir Edward	X	175	22
A. D. 1678	Jennings, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough	IX	111	17
A. D. 1278	Jerome of Ascoli	X	158	4
A. D. 1577	John of Austria	XI	11	14
A. D. 1346	John of Bohemia	I	57	17
A. D. 1380	John of Gaunt	IV	198	17
A. D. 1805	John of Lichtenstein	II	48	20
A. D. 1480	John II of Portugal	II	136	1
A. D. 1865	Johnson, President Andrew	IX	295	19
A. D. 1779	Johnson, Col. William	I	299	3
A. D. 1813	Johnson, Richard M.	XI	312	19
A. D. 1861	Johnston, Gen. Albert Sydney	XI	357	19
A. D. 1861	Johnston, Gen. Joseph E.	VIII	170	19
A. D. 1673	Joliet, Louis	I	277	22
A. D. 1807	Jomini, Baron de	VI	358	13
A. D. 1625	Jones, Inigo	XI	72	17
A. D. 1838	Jones, Thomas Ap. Catesby	X	353	19
A. D. 1630	Jonson, Ben	III	260	23
A. D. 1790	Joseph II of Austria	XI	134	14
A. D. 1899	Jouast, Colonel	X	399	24
A. D. 1796	Joubert, General	II	23	13
B. C. 43	Juba, King	III	36	5
B. C. 54	Julia, Daughter of Augustus	III	82	5
A. D. 1510	Julius II, Pope	VII	237	4
A. D. 1770	"Junius"	IX	225	17
A. D. 601	Justus, Bishop	III	189	4
A. D. 1648	Juxon, Bishop William	XI	37	17
K				
A. D. 1853	Kane, Dr. Elisha K.	X	117	22
A. D. 1898	Kane, Lieut. T. P.	XII	253	24
A. D. 1809	Karl XIII of Sweden	XI	129	15
A. D. 1878	Karl XIV of Sweden	XI	131	15
A. D. 1857	Karl XV of Sweden	XI	132	15

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1881	Katkof, Michael	XII	38	14
A. D. 1730	Katte, Lieutenant	IV	8	20
A. D. 1886	Kaulbars, General	XII	40	14
A. D. 1749	Kaunnitz, Count	IX	185	20
A. D. 1847	Kearny, Gen. Philip	X	333	19
A. D. 1872	Keate, Governor	X	386	17
A. D. 1730	Keith, Sir William, Governor of Pennsylvania	I	347	19
A. D. 1799	Keith, Lord T.	V	323	17
A. D. 1805	Kellerman, General	II	47	20
A. D. 1685	Ken, Bishop Thomas	XI	67	17 31
A. D. 1898	Kent, J. Ford	XII	219	24
A. D. 1877	Key, David M.	XII	122	24 19
A. D. 1812	Key, Francis Scott	XI	345	19
A. D. 1896	Khalifa, The	X	391	24
A. D. 1645	Kieft, Gov. Wilhelm	II	367	3 19
A. D. 1642	Kimbolton, Lord	V	250	17
A. D. 1819	King, Rufus	XI	306	19
A. D. 1794	Kléber, Gen. J. B.	VI	361	13
A. D. 1560	Knox, John, Reformer	II	235	17
A. D. 1776	Knox, Col. Henry	VI	26	3
A. D. 1854	Kobo	XI	368	33
A. D. 1874	Koffee Kalculli, King	X	373	17
A. D. 1250	Kublai-Khan	X	94	18
A. D. 1805	Kutusof, Gen. Michael	II	46	13
L				
A. D. 1899	Labori, Maître	X	399	24
A. D. 1060	Lacy, Hugh de	III	145	17
A. D. 1796	La Harpe, General	II	23	13
B. C. 415	Lamachus	VI	171	7
A. D. 1885	Lamar, Lucius, Q. C.	XII	139	19
A. D. 1836	Lamar, Mirabeau	XI	296	19
A. D. 1373	Lancaster, Duke of	IV	207	17
A. D. 1057	Lanfranc, Archbishop	III	144	4
A. D. 1645	Langdale, Sir Marnaduke	I	145	17
A. D. 1220	Langton, Stephen, Archbishop	VI	262	4 17
A. D. 1815	Las Cases, Count	II	39	13
A. D. 1636	Laud, Archbishop William	I	291	17
A. D. 1857	Lawrence, Sir Henry	X	377	18
A. D. 1868	Lawrence, William	XII	97	19
A. D. 1781	Lawson, Gen. Robert	I	187	3
A. D. 1898	Lawton, Gen. Henry W.	XII	218	24
A. D. 1799	Lebrun, C. F.	II	16	13
A. D. 1897	Lebrun-Renaud	X	396	24
A. D. 1725	Leczinski, Marie	VII	285	14
A. D. 1781	Lee, Gen. Henry	I	184	3
A. D. 1898	Lee, Gen. Fitzhugh	XII	205	24
A. D. 1861	Lee, Gen. Robert Edward	X	324	19
A. D. 1710	Leibnitz, Baron von	XI	153	23
A. D. 1264	Leicester, Earl of	VI	265	17
B. C. 63	Lentulus, C. Cethegus	I	94	5
A. D. 452	Leo I, Pope	III	176	4
A. D. 1518	Leo X, Pope	XI	112	4
A. D. 1050	Leofwine	II	283	17
A. D. 1192	Leopold of Austria	IV	154	20
A. D. 1790	Leopold II of Austria	XI	134	14

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities
A. D. 1878	Leopold II of Belgium	X	109	23 15
B. C. 43	Lepidus, M. Æmilius	III	29	5
A. D. 1781	Leslie, Gen. Alexander	I	189	3
A. D. 1748	Levasseur, Thérèse	XI	165	13
A. D. 1899	Leyds, Doctor	X	386	24
A. D. 1893	Liliuokalani, Queen	XII	145	24
A. D. 1898	Linares, General	XII	279	24
A. D. 1781	Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin	VI	146	3
A. D. 1881	Lincoln, Robert Todd	XII	133	19
A. D. 1899	Lipton, Sir Thomas	XII	238	24
A. D. 1800	Livingston, Robert	II	385	3
A. D. 1276	Llewellyn	VI	274	17 9
A. D. 1896	Lobanoff, Prince	XII	50	14
A. D. 1807	Lobanoff-Rostovski	XII	12	14 13
A. D. 1888	Lobengula, King	X	379	24
A. D. 1745	Lochiel, Donald Cameron	XI	90	17
A. D. 1664	Locke, John	V	257	23
A. D. 1868	Logan, Gen. John A.	XII	99	19
A. D. 1898	Lome, Enrico Dupuy de	XII	188	24
A. D. 1898	Long, John D.	XII	187	24
A. D. 1820	Long, Stephen H.	X	330	19
A. D. 270	Longinus	VII	97	10
A. D. 1862	Longstreet, Gen. James	VIII	172	19
A. D. 1649	Longeville, Duchess of	V	180	12
A. D. 1851	Lopez, Antonio	XI	333	19
A. D. 1851	Lopez, Narcisco	XII	202	23
A. D. 1115	Lothar	IV	141	4
A. D. 1800	Louis XVIII	II	30	13
A. D. 1836	Louis Phillippe, King of the French	IX	308	12
A. D. 1568	Louis of Nassau	XI	8	15
A. D. 1683	Louvois, Marquis	XI	125	13
A. D. 1715	Lovat, Lord, Simon Frazier	XI	87	17
A. D. 1865	Lowell, James Russell	VIII	22	23
B. C. 72	Lucullus, L. Licinius	III	71	5
A. D. 1085	Luxemburg, Count of	IV	78	20
A. D. 1856	Lyell, Sir C.	X	48	23
B. C. 490	Lysagoras	I	303	7
B. C. 404	Lysander	VI	163	7
B. C. 383	Lysis	I	33	7
M				
A. D. 1832	Macaulay, Lord	X	206	23
A. D. 1800	Macaulay, Zacharay	XI	220	17
A. D. 1745	Macdonald, Flora	XI	94	17
A. D. 1745	Macdonald of Kingsburgh	XI	95	17
A. D. 1688	MacKay, Gen. Hugh	XI	75	17
A. D. 1870	MacMahon, Marshal	IX	354	12
A. D. 1715	MacMahon, John Baptist	XII	74	13
B. C. 40	Mæcenæ, C. Cilnius	VI	227	5
A. D. 1520	Magellan, Fernando	X	62	1 2
A. D. 1500	Mahmoud, Sultan	VIII	299	14
A. D. 1030	Malcolm, King	III	131	17
A. D. 1775	Malesherbes, C. G. de	III	301	12
A. D. 1643	Manchester, Earl of	I	139	17
B. C. 150	Mancinus	I	329	5
A. D. 1850	Mann, Dudley	XI	139	14 19

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1885	Manning, Daniel	XII	139	19 24
A. D. 1477	Mansion, Colard	V	392	23
A. D. 1706	Mar, Earl of	IX	132	17
A. D. 1789	Marat, Jean Paul	III	303	13
A. D. 1898	Marchand, Major	X	392	24
A. D. 450	Marcian, Emperor	III	175	5
A. D. 1572	Marck, William de la	XI	9	15
B. C. 480	Mardonius	I	229	6
A. D. 1455	Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England	VII	213	12
A. D. 1533	Margaret of Angoulême	XI	116	13
A. D. 1234	Margaret of France	I	362	12
A. D. 1557	Margaret of Flanders	III	235	1
A. D. 1559	Margaret of Parma	XI	6	15 1
A. D. 1664	Maria Theresia of France	II	311	12
A. D. 1898	Marie Christina, Regent	XII	207	24
A. D. 1701	Marlborough, Duke of	XI	126	17 13
A. D. 1560	Marlowe, Christopher	III	264	23
A. D. 1855	Marmora, Gen. de la	IX	330	12
A. D. 1818	Marshall, John	VII	396	3
A. D. 1894	Marti, José	XII	204	24
A. D. 1280	Martin IV, Pope	XI	28	4
A. D. 1700	Masham, Mrs.	IX	114	17
A. D. 1861	Mason, James M.	X	355	19
A. D. 1868	Mason, Robert B.	XII	166	19
A. D. 1657	Massasoit	V	300	19 3
A. D. 1715	Massillon, Father J. B.	II	309	23
A. D. 1084	Matilda of Tuscany, Duchess	IV	103	16
A. D. 1753	Maupertius, P. L. M. de	XI	151	13
A. D. 1477	Maximilian of Austria	IV	225	20
A. D. 312	Maxentius	VII	115	2 14
A. D. 312	Maximin	VII	115	2 14
B. C. 300	Mazæus	I	22	7
A. D. 1898	McArthur, Gen. Arthur	XII	289	24
A. D. 1864	McClellan, Gen. George B.	VIII	19	19
A. D. 1861	McClellan, Gen. George B.	XII	103	19
A. D. 1862	McCook, Gen. A. M.	X	266	19
A. D. 1862	McDowell, Gen. Irvin	VIII	171	19
A. D. 1844	McDuffie, George	XI	323	19
A. D. 1898	McKenna, Joseph	XII	187	24
A. D. 1848	McLane, Robert	XI	329	19
A. D. 1863	McLaws, Gen. Lafayette	VIII	151	19
A. D. 1852	McLean, John	XI	352	19
A. D. 1864	McPherson, Gen. J. B.	VIII	112	19
A. D. 1558	Medici, Catherine de'	II	234	15
A. D. 1469	Medici, Pietro de'	VI	317	15
A. D. 1588	Medina, Duke of	III	238	1
A. D. 1530	Melancthon, Philip	IX	155	4
A. D. 601	Mellitus, Bishop	III	189	4
A. D. 1643	Melo, Don Francisco de	V	174	12
B. C. 300	Memnon the Greek	I	18	7
B. C. 300	Mencius	XI	394	23
A. D. 1490	Mendoza, Cardinal	II	137	1
A. D. 1813	Menschikoff	XII	17	14
A. D. 1724	Mentchikoff, General	VI	342	14
A. D. 1777	Mercer, Gen. Hugh	VI	32	3
A. D. 1899	Mercier, General	X	395	24

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1645	Mercy, General	V	180	12
B. C. 80	Metellus, Q.	II	109	5
A. D. 1809	Metternich, Prince.	XII	9	14
A. D. 1899	Michael, Grand Duke	XII	54	24 14
B. C. 149	Micipsa	V	99	5
A. D. 1815	Mickiewicz, Adam, Poet.	XII	25	14
A. D. 1790	Mifflin, Gov. Thomas	II	381	3
A. D. 1870	Mill, John Stuart	II	259	23
A. D. 1825	Miller, Gen. James	IX	397	19
A. D. 1887	Mills, Roger Q.	XII	184	24
A. D. 1648	Milton, John.	I	141	23
A. D. 1890	Miquel, Doctor	X	364	20
A. D. 1840	Moffat, Dr. Robert	X	101	23
A. D. 1871	Moltke, Count Helmuth von	XII	29	20
A. D. 1685	Monmouth, Duke of	XI	52	17
A. D. 1625	Montagu, Richard	XI	30	17
A. D. 1520	Montezuma	II	179	1 19
A. D. 1815	Montholon, Count.	II	39	13
A. D. 1555	Montmorenci, Marshal de	IV	395	12
A. D. 1898	Montojo, y Pasaron P., Admiral	XII	248	24
A. D. 1772	Moore, Dr. John	XI	183	17 23
A. D. 1807	Moore, Sir John	II	33	17
A. D. 1483	More, Sir Thomas	VII	221	17
A. D. 1800	Moreau, General	II	18	13
A. D. 1861	Morgan, Edward D.	XII	131	24 19
A. D. 1899	Morgan, J. Pierpont	XII	238	24
A. D. 1831	Morgan, William	XII	82	23
A. D. 1312	Mortimer, Earl of March	I	55	17
A. D. 1888	Morton, Levi P.	XII	142	24
A. D. 1758	Moultrie, Capt. William	I	201	3
A. D. 1314	Mowbray, Sir Philip	VI	298	17
A. D. 1795	Murat, Marshal Joachim	II	9	13
A. D. 1855	Muravieff, Gen. Nicholas	XII	28	13 14 17
A. D. 1766	Murray, Lindley	IV	354	23
A. D. 1689	Murray, Lord	XI	78	17
N				
B. C. 520	Nabonidus, King of Babylon	I	100	10 6
A. D. 1851	Napoleon III	XI	205	13
A. D. 1876	Nares, Capt. George	X	120	23
A. D. 1528	Narvaez, General	I	72	1 19
B. C. 330	Nearchus	I	20	7
B. C. 521	Nebuthadnezzar, King of Babylon	I	122	10
B. C. 362	Nectanabis, King	VII	57	10
A. D. 1741	Neipperg, Count	IV	11	20
A. D. 1857	Nelson, Justice	XI	351	19 24
A. D. 1868	Nelson, Thomas A. R.	XII	97	19
A. D. 1580	Nemours, Duke of	III	162	12
A. D. 1415	Nevers, Count	VII	207	12
A. D. 1854	Newcastle, Duke of	X	385	17
A. D. 1600	Newton, Sir Isaac	XI	72	17 26
A. D. 1807	Ney, Marshal Michel	XII	11	13
A. D. 610	Nicetas	VII	135	14 6
A. D. 1851	Nicholas I, Tzar	X	282	14
A. D. 1040	Nicholas II, Pope	VI	251	4
A. D. 1447	Nicholas V, Pope	XI	224	4 34

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1878	Nicholas, Czarovitch	XII	35	14
A. D. 1847	Nicholson, A. O. P.	XI	363	19
A. D. 1650	Noor-Jehan	VIII	312	18
A. D. 1398	Norfolk, Duke of	VII	194	17
A. D. 1568	Norfolk, Duke of	II	238	17
A. D. 1780	North, Lord	IX	203	3 17
A. D. 1346	Northampton, Earl of	I	57	17
A. D. 1554	Northumberland, Duke of	I	372	17
O				
A. D. 1678	Oates, Titus	XI	52	17
A. D. 1832	O'Connell, Daniel	X	216	23
B. C. 40	Octavia	III	122	5
A. D. 260	Odenatus	VII	103	10
A. D. 850	Odo of Paris	III	137	2
A. D. 1068	Odo, Bishop of Bayeux	II	292	12
A. D. 1854	Ogasawara	XI	370	33
A. D. 1559	Oglethorpe, Bishop	VIII	222	17
A. D. 1413	Oldcastle, Sir John	VII	205	17
A. D. 1530	Olivetani, Pierre Robert	XI	115	4
A. D. 1895	Olney, Richard	XII	146	24
B. C. 356	Olympias, Queen of Macedonia	I	17	7
A. D. 1723	Orleans, Duke of	I	321	12
A. D. 1814	Orlof, Count Alexis	XII	26	14
A. D. 1762	Orloff, Alexis	II	194	14
A. D. 1754	Orme, General	VI	19	3
A. D. 400	Orosius	IX	67	4
A. D. 1528	Ortiz, Juan	I	73	23
A. D. 1844	Oscar I of Sweden	XI	132	15
A. D. 1872	Oscar II of Sweden	XI	132	15
A. D. 962	Otho I of Germany	I	380	2 20
A. D. 1898	Otis, Gen. Elwell S.	XII	207	24
A. D. 1265	Ottocar, King of Bohemia	XI	24	14
A. D. 1075	Otto of Nordheim	IV	77	20
A. D. 1812	Owen, Col. Abraham	XI	314	19
A. D. 1840	Owen, Robert Dale	XI	380	19 23
A. D. 1613	Oxenstierna, Axel, of Sweden	V	209	15
P				
A. D. 1790	Paine, Thomas	VII	349	3
A. D. 1815	Pakenham, Sir Edward M., General	VII	369	3
A. D. 1453	Palæologus (John VII)	VIII	291	14
A. D. 1821	Palmer, Captain, the Explorer	X	353	23
A. D. 1871	Palmer, John McCaulay	XII	165	24
A. D. 1859	Palmerston, Lord	X	208	17
A. D. 1220	Pandulph, Bishop	VI	261	12 4
A. D. 1850	Pangborn, Zenas K.	XII	232	24
A. D. 1769	Paoli, General	IV	284	12
A. D. 1632	Pappenheim, General	V	215	15
A. D. 1864	Parks, Sir Henry	XII	57	23
A. D. 1570	Parma, Duke of	III	237	1
B. C. 300	Parmenio	I	24	7
A. D. 1880	Parnell, Charles Stewart	XII	304	24 32
A. D. 1545	Parr, Catherine, Queen of England	VII	242	17
A. D. 1818	Parry, Sir W. E., Captain	X	115	23
A. D. 1899	Paty de Clam, Col. du	XII	393	24

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1800	Paul, Czar	XII	5	14
A. D. 1559	Paul IV, Pope	XI	112	4 30
A. D. 1609	Paul V, Pope	XI	109	4 30
A. D. 1898	Pearson, Col. E. P.	XII	285	24
A. D. 1894	Peary, Lieut. R. E.	X	119	23
A. D. 1843	Pecci, Archbishop, Leo XIII	X	368	4 23
A. D. 1810	Pecci, Count Ludovico	X	367	23
A. D. 1520	Pedro de Avila, Don	I	70	1
A. D. 1840	Peel, Sir Robert	X	206	17
A. D. 400	Pelagius	IX	66	4
A. D. 1863	Pemberton, Gen. J. C.	VIII	61	19
A. D. 1215	Pembroke, Earl of	V	245	17
A. D. 1774	Pendleton, Edmund	III	349	3
A. D. 1869	Pendleton, George H.	XII	120	19
A. D. 1682	Penn, William	XI	223	19
B. C. 1490	Pentaur, the Egyptian Poet	I	212	10
A. D. 680	Pepin d' Heristal	I	39	2
A. D. 792	Pepin, the Hunchback	V	10	2
A. D. 1356	Percy, Lord	I	60	17
B. C. 360	Perdicas, King	V	61	7
A. D. 1520	Perez, Captain	I	70	1 23
A. D. 1881	Peroffska, Sophie	XII	33	14
A. D. 1776	Perry, Christopher R.	XI	276	19
A. D. 1762	Peter III, Tsar	II	193	14
B. C. 375	Pharnabazus	VII	47	10
B. C. 48	Pharnaces	III	36	5
A. D. 1191	Philip Augustus of France	IV	167	16
A. D. 1460	Philip of Burgundy	I	126	15
B. C. 80	Philo	I	91	7 23
A. D. 610	Phocas	VII	135	6
B. C. 48	Phraates, King	III	85	5 10
A. D. 1781	Pickens, General	I	184	3
A. D. 1863	Pickett, Gen. G. E.	X	263	19
A. D. 1815	Picton, General	II	69	17
A. D. 1899	Picquart, Colonel	X	396	24
A. D. 1828	Pierce, Gov. Benjamin	XI	335	19 23
A. D. 1543	Pighius, Albert	XI	119	4
A. D. 1775	Pigot, Gen. Sir Robert	I	175	3
A. D. 1806	Pike, Zebulon M.	X	330	19
B. C. 470	Pindar	I	109	23
B. C. 470	Pisistratus	I	110	7
A. D. 1803	Pitt, William	XI	185	17
A. D. 1801	Pius VII, Pope	II	18	4
A. D. 1859	Pius IX, Pope	IX	332	15
A. D. 1100	Plantagenet, Geoffrey	IV	148	17
A. D. 1881	Platt, Thomas C.	XII	132	24
A. D. 1880	Pobyedonovstef, Procurator	XII	42	14
A. D. 1606	Pocahontas	III	290	3 19
A. D. 1863	Polk, Gen. L.	X	267	19
A. D. 1844	Polk, President J. K.	VII	373	19
A. D. 1898	Polo y Bernabe, Louis	XII	189	24
B. C. 219	Polybius	V	45	23
B. C. 400	Polyeutes	I	255	7
B. C. 470	Polygnotus	I	109	23
B. C. 320	Polysperchon	I	254	7
A. D. 1775	Pomeroy, Gen. Seth	I	177	3

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1763	Poniatowski, Prince	II	194	14
A. D. 1862	Pope, Gen. John	VIII	172	19
A. D. 66	Poppæa	VIII	367	5
A. D. 1776	Porter, Capt. David	XI	290	19
A. D. 1827	Porter, Capt. David H.	XI	374	19
B. C. 300	Porus, King of India	I	20	7 18
A. D. 1779	Posey, Major Thomas	I	299	3
A. D. 1878	Potter, Clarkson N.	XII	127	24
A. D. 1606	Powhatan	III	290	19
A. D. 1775	Prescott, Col. William	I	174	3
A. D. 1220	Prester John	IV	181	18 14
A. D. 1854	Pretorius, Boer President	X	385	24
A. D. 1861	Price, Gen. Sterling	VIII	59	19
A. D. 1648	Pride, Colonel	I	140	17
A. D. 1813	Proctor, Col. Henry A.	XI	311	19
B. C. 183	Prusias, King	V	49	6
B. C. 50	Ptolemy Auletes	III	91	10
A. D. 1650	Puffendorf, S., of Sweden	IX	174	15
A. D. 1881	Puttkamer, Minister	X	361	20
A. D. 1642	Pym, John	V	250	17
Q				
A. D. 1706	Queensberry, Duke of	IX	132	17
A. D. 1770	Quincy, Josiah	IV	344	3
R				
A. D. 1825	Rabbe, Alphonse	XII	10	14
A. D. 1776	Ralle, Col. J. G., Hessian	VI	26	3
A. D. 1885	Randall, Samuel J.	VIII	68	19
A. D. 1774	Randolph, Peyton	III	348	3
A. D. 1610	Ravaillac, Francois	III	158	12
A. D. 1781	Rawdon-Hastings, Lord Francis	I	182	3
A. D. 1841	Raymond, Henry J.	XI	380	19 23
A. D. 1096	Raymond of Toulouse	IV	121	16
A. D. 1793	Recamiér, Madame	VI	392	13
A. D. 1894	Reed, Thomas B.	XII	146	24
A. D. 1872	Reid, Whitelaw	XI	383	23
A. D. 1477	René, King	I	132	12
A. D. 1876	Reno, Major	X	253	19
A. D. 1863	Reynolds, Gen. J. F.	X	262	19
A. D. 1894	Rhodes, Col. Francis	X	380	24
A. D. 1871	Rhodes, Herbert	X	378	24
A. D. 1562	Ribault, Jean	V	146	12
A. D. 1724	Richelieu, Duke of	XI	147	13
A. D. 1864	Ricketts, General	VIII	91	19
A. D. 1870	Riel, Louis	X	373	19
A. D. 1898	Rios, Don Eugenio Montero	XII	224	24
A. D. 1841	Ripley, George	XI	380	19 23
A. D. 1848	Ritchie, Thomas	XI	330	19
A. D. 1807	Rivoli, Duke of	V	324	15
A. D. 1565	Rizzio, David	II	237	17
A. D. 1500	Robbia, Luca della	IV	393	23
A. D. 1249	Robert of Artois	I	366	16
A. D. 1024	Robert the Devil	I	47	12
A. D. 910	Robert of Paris	III	140	2
A. D. 1881	Robertson, William H.	XII	132	23

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1540	Roberval, Seigneur de	III	183	12 23
A. D. 1869	Robeson, George M.	XII	141	19
A. D. 1895	Robinson, Sir Hercules	X	381	24
A. D. 1609	Robinson, John	II	337	3 19
A. D. 1220	Roches, Bishop de	VI	261	17
A. D. 1782	Rodney, G. B. Baron, Admiral	III	302	17
A. D. 1724	Rohan, Chevalier	XI	147	13
A. D. 1779	Roland, J. M.	IV	302	13
A. D. 1609	Rolfe, John	III	291	19 3
A. D. 1785	Romanzoff, Count	IX	199	14
A. D. 1862	Rosecrans, Gen. W. E.	X	237	19
A. D. 1597	Rosny, Baron de	VII	277	12
A. D. 1840	Ross, Sir James C.	X	354	17
A. D. 1818	Ross, Capt. John	X	115	23
A. D. 1722	Rousseau, Jean Baptiste	XI	146	13
A. D. 1278	Rudolph, Duke of Swabia	XI	28	2
A. D. 1644	Rupert of Bavaria, Prince	I	139	17
A. D. 1861	Russell, Lord John	VIII	15	17
A. D. 1565	Ruthven, Lord	II	244	17
A. D. 1780	Rutledge, Gov. John	I	202	8
S				
A. D. 1871	Sage, Henry W.	X	345	23
A. D. 1854	Said Pasha	IX	373	17 12
A. D. 1859	Saint D'Angle, Regnard de	XII	79	13
A. D. 1174	Salisbury, Earl of	III	197	17
A. D. 1878	Salisbury, Marquis of	X	219	17
A. D. 1504	Saluzzo, Marquis of	III	230	1
A. D. 1300	Sancho, of Castile	VII	150	1
A. D. 1520	Sandoval, General	II	190	1 10
A. D. 1822	San Martin, General	IX	396	19 1
A. D. 1836	Santa Anna, General	XI	296	19
A. D. 260	Sapor, King of Persia	VII	103	10
A. D. 1346	Savoy, Count of	I	58	12
A. D. 1557	Savoy, Duke of	III	235	1
A. D. 1745	Saxe, Marshal de	VII	286	12
A. D. 1457	Scanderbeg (George Castriot)	VIII	281	14
A. D. 1884	Scanlan, Sir Thomas	X	379	24
A. D. 1651	Scarron, Paul	II	326	12
A. D. 1850	Schamyl	XII	27	14
A. D. 1897	Scheurer-Kestner	X	396	24
A. D. 1450	Schœffer, Peter	V	385	23
A. D. 1864	Schofield, Gen. J. McA.	X	267	19
A. D. 1657	Schonbron, Philip de	V	161	12
A. D. 1820	Schoolcraft, Henry R.	XI	362	19 23
A. D. 1895	Schouvaloff, Count	XII	48	14
A. D. 1776	Schuyler, Gen. P.	VI	71	3
A. D. 1897	Schwarzkoppen, Col. von	X	396	24
A. D. 1879	Schwatka, Lieutenant	X	119	22
A. D. 1757	Schwerin, Marshal	IV	29	20
A. D. 1857	Scott, Dred	XI	349	19
A. D. 1847	Scott, Gen. Winfield	XI	329	19
A. D. 1405	Scroop, Archbishop	VII	196	17
A. D. 1862	Sedgwick, Gen. J.	X	259	19
A. D. 31	Sejanus	VIII	358	5
B. C. 300	Seleucus	VII	81	7

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
B. C. 219	Sempronius, T.	V	45	5
B. C. 538	Sennacherib	I	104	10
A. D. 1553	Servetus, Michael	XI	119	23
B. C. 1490	Seti I, King of Egypt	I	212	10
A. D. 1861	Seward, William H.	X	356	19
A. D. 1853	Seymour, Sir Henry	XII	20	14 17
A. D. 1863	Seymour, Gov. Horatio	VIII	21	19
A. D. 1536	Seymour, Jane, Queen	VII	241	17
A. D. 1864	Seymour, Gen. T.	VIII	91	19
A. D. 1782	Shelburne, Lord	IX	211	17
A. D. 1864	Sheridan, Gen. Philip Henry	XII	296	19 23
A. D. 1788	Sheridan, R. B.	VIII	341	18 17
A. D. 1880	Sherman, John	X	238	19
A. D. 1776	Sherman, Roger	IV	345	3
A. D. 1863	Sherman Gen. William Tecumseh	VIII	106	19 23
B. C. 551	Shuh Liang-Hei	XI	389	23
A. D. 1860	Sickles, Daniel E.	XII	103	19
B. C. 624	Siddartha (Buddha)	X	90	18
A. D. 1799	Siéyes, Abbé	II	16	12 13
A. B. 740	Sigulphus	V	31	2
A. D. 1487	Simnel, Lambert	VII	229	17
A. D. 1781	Singleton, Capt.	I	187	3
A. D. 1876	Sitting Bull	X	255	19
A. D. 1861	Slidell, John	X	355	19
A. D. 1864	Slocum, Gen. H. W.	VIII	110	19
A. D. 1836	Smith, Deaf	XI	298	19
A. D. 1849	Smith, Geritt	X	322	19
A. D. 1799	Smith, Sir Sydney	II	14	13
A. D. 1717	Sobieski, Clementina	XI	85	14
A. D. 1759	Soltikof, General	IV	33	14
A. D. 1526	Solyman the Magnificent	XI	134	14
A. D. 1542	Solyman, Sultan	IX	149	14
A. D. 1680	Sophia, Princess	VI	337	14
B. C. 470	Sophocles	I	109	23
B. C. 206	Sophonisba	V	96	11
A. D. 1439	Sorel, Agnes	IV	220	12
A. D. 1757	Soubise, Marshal	IV	40	20
A. D. 1815	Soult, Marshal	II	37	13
A. D. 1788	Stael-Holstein, Baron Von	IV	311	13
A. D. 1683	Stahrenberg, Count Von	IV	242	14
A. D. 1886	Stambuloff, Minister	XII	40	14
A. D. 1868	Stanbery, Henry	XII	95	19
A. D. 1763	Stanislaus Augustus	II	194	14
A. D. 1851	St Arnaud, Marshal	IX	311	12
A. D. 1714	St. George, Chevalier de	XI	84	12 17
A. D. 1805	St. Hilaire, Gen. L. V.	II	52	13
A. D. 1485	Stanley, Lord	VII	223	17
A. D. 1862	Stanton, Secretary E. M.	VIII	16	19
A. D. 1777	Stark, Col. John	VI	27	3
B. C. 362	Statira, Queen	VII	47	7
A. D. 1806	Stein, Baron Von	IX	236	20
A. D. 1848	Stephen, Archduke	XI	136	14
A. B. 1097	Stephen de Blois	IV	121	16
A. D. 1275	Stephen, King of Hungary	XI	27	2
A. D. 800	Stephen, Pope	V	12	4
A. D. 1781	Stevens, General	I	187	3
A. D. 1899	Steyn, President	XII	298	24

PERIOD.	NAME	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1862	Stevens, Thaddeus	X	248	19
A. D. 1892	Stevenson, Adlai F.	XII	192	24
A. D. 1812	Stewart, Commodore Charles	XI	238	19
A. D. 1779	Stewart, Major	I	299	3
A. D. 1689	Stewart of Bequhan	XI	78	17
A. D. 1051	Stigand, Archbishop	II	280	4
A. D. 397	Stilicho	III	166	21
A. D. 1665	Stillingfleet, Bishop	V	259	17
A. D. 1845	Stockton, Robert F., Com.	X	333	19
A. D. 1834	Stowe, Calvin E.	X	344	19
A. D. 1852	Stowe, Harriet Beecher	XI	334	19
A. D. 1629	Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of	XI	31	17
A. D. 1894	Strong, William L.	XII	278	24
A. D. 1172	Strongbow, Richard, Earl of Pembroke	III	197	17
A. D. 1781	Stuart, Colonel	I	189	3
A. D. 1864	Stuart, Gen. J. E. B.	VIII	128	19
A. D. 1618	Stukeley, Sir L.	I	67	17
A. D. 1805	Suchet, Marshal	II	50	13
A. D. 1381	Sudbury, Archbishop	VII	188	4
A. D. 1554	Suffolk, Duke of	III	251	17
A. D. 1724	Sully, Duke of	XI	147	12
B. C. 89	Sulpicius, Publius	III	56	5
A. D. 1868	Sumner, Charles	XII	85	19
A. D. 1862	Sumner, Gen. E. V.	X	259	19
A. D. 1799	Suwarrow, Marshal	II	218	13 14
A. D. 1080	Swabia, Duke of	IV	78	20
A. D. 1002	Sweyn, King	III	129	14
B. C. 206	Syphax	V	94	10
T				
A. D. 1096	Tancred	IV	121	16
A. D. 1830	Taney, Chief Justice R. B.	VII	363	19
A. D. 1476	Tarentum, Prince of	I	133	12 15
A. D. 1781	Tarleton, General	I	182	3
B. C. 753	Tarpeia	I	87	5
A. D. 1845	Taylor, Zachary	XI	328	19
A. D. 1813	Tecumseh	VII	361	19
A. D. 1853	Teen Wang	XII	55	23
A. D. 1220	Temugin Khan	IV	180	18 14
A. D. 1743	Tencin, Cardinal	XI	89	12
A. D. 1685	Tenison, Bishop Thomas	XI	67	17
A. D. 1336	Teragai Khan	IV	185	18 14
A. D. 1876	Terry, Gen. A. H.	X	254	19
A. D. 1157	Theobald, Archbishop	III	195	17
B. C. 250	Theocritus	VII	86	23
A. D. 395	Theodosius, Emperor	III	165	5
A. D. 527	Theodora, Empress	I	339	5
B. C. 322	Theophrastus	X	13	23
A. D. 720	Thierry IV (Theodoric)	I	40	21
A. D. 1868	Thomas, Lorenzo	XII	94	19
A. D. 1007	Thorfinn the Northman	I	107	19
A. D. 1830	Thorwaldsen, Bertel	I	108	23
A. D. 1867	Thurman, Allen Granbery	XII	119	19
B. C. 96	Tigranes, King of Armenia	III	69	5
A. D. 1876	Tilden, Samuel J.	VIII	66	19
A. D. 1631	Tilly, General	V	212	20

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1874	Tilton, Theodore	X	347	19
B. C. 410	Timæus	VI	167	7
A. D. 1799	Tippoo Sahib	VII	301	18
B. C. 404	Tissaphernes	VI	163	7
A. D. 1377	Toctamish	IV	186	18 14
A. D. 1854	Todleben, F. E.	XII	23	14 13 17
A. D. 1865	Tolstoi, Count D.	XII	43	14
A. D. 1898	Toral, José	XII	222	24
A. D. 1060	Tostig, Earl of Northumberland	I	48	17
A. D. 540	Totila, King of the Goths	VII	127	21
A. D. 1720	Townshend, Lord	IX	138	17
A. D. 1170	Tracy, William de	III	196	17
A. D. 1550	Trolle, Gustave	V	201	15
A. D. 1838	Trumbull, Lyman	VIII	8	19
A. D. 1798	Truxton, Thomas	XI	291	19
A. D. 1779	Tryon, Governor	I	173	3
A. D. 1853	Tsang Kwo Fan	XII	55	23
B. C. 250	Tsang Sin	XI	394	23
A. D. 1456	Tudor, Owen	VII	228	17
A. D. 1775	Turgot, Baron A. R. J.	III	301	12
A. D. 1685	Turner, Bishop Francis	XI	67	17
A. D. 1871	Tweed, William Marcy	XII	126	19
A. D. 1808	Tyler, Governor John	XI	318	19
A. D. 1840	Tyler, President John	VII	373	19
A. D. 1381	Tyler, Wat	VII	188	17
A. D. 1880	Tyndall, John	X	171	23
A. D. 1610	Tyrconnell, Earl of	IX	90	17
A. D. 1610	Tyrone, Earl of	IX	90	17
A. D. 1095	Tyrell, Walter	III	146	17
B. C. 478	Tze-kung	XI	392	23
B. C. 425	Tze-sze	XI	394	23
U				
A. D. 1223	Ugolini, Cardinal	XI	106	4
A. D. 1571	Uluch, Ali	IX	166	20 14
A. D. 1634	Urban VIII, Pope	V	157	12
V				
A. D. 1836	Vail, Alfred	IX	271	23
A. D. 370	Valentinian, Emperor	IX	52	5
A. D. 1881	Valusef, Minister	XII	38	14
A. D. 1828	Van Buren, President Martin	VII	363	3 19
A. D. 1636	Vane, Sir Henry	I	290	3
A. D. 1899	Van Wyck, Robert A.	XII	237	24
B. C. 50	Varro	III	30	5
A. D. 9	Varus, Quintilius	I	77	5
A. D. 1600	Vega, Lope de	X	152	23
A. D. 1511	Velasquez, Governor	II	175	1
B. C. 40	Ventidius	III	120	5
A. D. 1500	Veragua, Duke of	II	142	1
B. C. 70	Verres, Caius	I	92	5
A. D. 1861	Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy	XII	68	15
A. D. 1159	Victor IV, Pope	IX	71	4 20
A. D. 1837	Victoria, Queen	X	358	17
A. D. 1112	Vienne, Archbishop	IV	140	20 4
A. D. 1863	Vilas, Col. W. L.	VIII	102	19

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1898	Villamil, Admiral	XII	212	24
A. D. 1714	Villars, Duke of	XI	127	12 20
A. D. 1898	Villa Urrutia, Don Wenceslas Ramirez de	XII	225	24
A. D. 1500	Villejo, Alonzo de	II	155	1
A. D. 1490	Villena, Marquis of	III	214	1
A. D. 1805	Villeneuve, Admiral	II	31	12
A. D. 1840	Villiers, Charles Pelham	XI	199	17
A. D. 1616	Villiers, Duke of Buckingham	I	66	17
A. D. 69	Vitellius, Emperor.	IX	6	5
A. D. 1786	Voight, Harry	II	375	23
A. D. 1750	Voltaire	II	199	23
B. C. 810	Vul-lush	VII	40	10
W				
A. D. 1898	Wade, James F.	XII	207	24
A. D. 1859	Wallace, Alfred Russel	X	48	23
A. D. 1862	Wallace, Gen. W. H. L.	VIII	60	19
A. D. 1898	Wainwright, Richard	XII	221	24
A. D. 1889	Waldersee, Count von	X	362	20
A. D. 1860	Wales, Albert Edward, Prince of	XII	164	17
A. D. 1845	Walker, Joseph R.	X	332	19
A. D. 1858	Walker, Robert James	XI	356	19
A. D. 1096	Walter the Penniless	IV	107	16
A. D. 1492	Warbeck, Perkin	VII	232	17
A. D. 1831	Ward, Frederick Townsend	XII	56	23
A. D. 1775	Ward, Gen. Artemas	I	174	3
A. D. 1738	Warens, Madam de	XI	164	12
A. D. 1297	Warene, Earl of Surrey	VI	286	17
A. D. 1775	Warren, Gen. Joseph	I	176	3
A. D. 1864	Warren, Gen. G. K.	VIII	84	19
A. D. 1884	Warren, Sir Charles	XII	312	17
A. D. 1455	Warwick, Earl of	VII	213	17
A. D. 1781	Washington, Col. W.	I	187	3
A. D. 1779	Washington, George	XI	248	19
A. D. 1859	Washington, Lewis	X	324	19
A. D. 1857	Wayne, James M.	XI	351	19 23
A. D. 1892	Weaver, James B.	XII	143	24
A. D. 1850	Webster, Daniel	XII	96	19
A. D. 1781	Webster, Gen. E.	I	188	3
A. D. 1800	Wellesley, Viscount	VII	301	17
A. D. 1827	Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of	XII	17	17
A. D. 1812	Wells, Gen. William	XI	313	19
A. D. 1780	Wemyss, Major	I	206	3
A. D. 1276	Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia	XI	24	2 14
A. D. 1270	Werner, Archbishop	XI	25	2 14
A. D. 1735	Wesley, John	II	355	23
A. D. 1735	Wesley, Charles	II	355	23
A. D. 1786	West, Benjamin	II	384	23
A. D. 1550	Westgöthe, Arwid	V	204	15
A. D. 1897	Weyler, Valeriano	XII	188	24
A. D. 1587	White, Gov. J.	I	63	3
A. D. 1885	Whitney, William C.	XII	139	24
A. D. 1898	Wikoff, Gen. Charles A.	XII	284	24
A. D. 1861	Wilkes, Capt. Charles	VIII	15	19
A. D. 1880	William I of Germany	XII	39	20
A. D. 1890	William II of Germany	X	183	20

PERIOD.	NAME.	Vol.	Page.	Authorities.
A. D. 1688	William III of England	XI	62	17
A. D. 1559	William of Orange	XI	5	17 15
A. D. 1876	Williams, James D.	XII	173	24
A. D. 1781	Williams, Col. O.	I	199	3
A. D. 1846	Wilmot, David	XI	329	19
A. D. 1898	Wilson, Gen. James H.	XII	208	24
A. D. 1893	Wilson, William L.	XII	144	24
A. D. 1870	Wimpffen, Gen. von	IX	354	20
A. D. 1855	Windham, Gen. C. A.	X	286	17
A. D. 1848	Windischgrätz, Prince	XI	137	14
A. D. 1889	Windom, William	XII	174	23 24
A. D. 1675	Winslow, Josiah	V	301	19
A. D. 1635	Winthrop, John	XI	43	19
A. D. 1850	Winthrop, Robert C.	IX	285	19
A. D. 1831	Wirt, William	XII	82	19
A. D. 1843	Wise, Henry A.	XI	321	19
A. D. 1520	Wolsey, Cardinal	VII	238	17
A. D. 1898	Wood, Gen. Leonard A.	XII	208	24
A. D. 1649	Worcester, Marquis of	III	363	17
A. D. 1794	Woronzow, General	II	211	14
A. D. 1675	Wrangel, Marshal	IV	68	20
A. D. 1666	Wren, Sir Christopher	XI	72	17
A. D. 1864	Wright, General	VIII	91	19
A. D. 1795	Wurmser, General	II	11	20
A. D. 1554	Wyat, Sir Thomas	I	373	17
A. D. 1378	Wycliffe, John	VII	189	17 23
X				
B. C. 479	Xanthippus	I	304	7
A. D. 1074	Ximena, Donna	VI	244	1
A. D. 1490	Ximenes, Francisco de C.	III	212	1
Y				
A. D. 1090	Yahia, Lord of Valencia	VI	245	1 2
A. D. 760	Yahyia, the Barmecide	V	35	2 14
A. D. 1162	Yesukai Khan	IV	178	18 14
A. D. 1664	York, Duke of	V	259	17
A. D. 1877	Young, John Russell	VIII	67	19
Z				
A. D. 1490	Zafra, Fernando	III	218	1
A. D. 1483	Zagal, El, King	III	210	1
B. C. 290	Zeno, the Stoic	II	259	23
A. D. 1757	Ziethen, Gen. J. J. von	IV	47	20
A. D. 1823	Zukovsky, V. A.	XII	25	14

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 Baring-Gould, S., *Germany* (Story of Nations).
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 Mommsen, T., *History of Rome*.
 Gilman, Arthur, *Rome* (Story of Nations).
 Beesly, A. H., *The Gracchi* (Epochs of History).
 Merivale, C., *The Triumvirates* (Epochs of History).
 Capes, W. W., *The Early Roman Empire* (Epochs of History).
 Capes, W. W., *The Empire of the Second Century* (Epochs of History).
 Creasy, E. S., *Fifteen Decisive Battles*.
 Dodge, T. A., *Julius Cæsar* (Great Captains).
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 Benjamin, S. W. G., *Persia* (Story of Nations).
 Church, A. J., *Story of the Persian War, from Herodotus*.
 Creasy, E. S., *Fifteen Decisive Battles*.
 Curzon, G. N., *Persia and the Persian Question*.
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 Thirlwall, C., *History of Greece; Alexander and His Successors*.
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 Oman, C. W. C., *History of Greece to the Macedonian Conquest*.
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 Dodge, T. A., *Alexander* (Great Captains).
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 Sankey, C., **The Spartan and Theban Supremacies** (Epochs of History).
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 Rawlinson, G., **Manual of Ancient History**.
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 Besant, W., and Palmer, E. J., **History of Jerusalem**.
 Ewald, H., **History of Israel**.
 Jacobs, J., **The Jews in Mediæval England**.
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 Brugsch, H., **Egypt under the Pharaohs**.
 Rawlinson, G., **Ancient Egypt** (Story of Nations).
 Rawlinson, G., **Phœnicia** (Story of Nations).
 Ragozin, Z. A., **Assyria** (Story of Nations).
 Ragozin, Z. A., **Media, Babylon and Persia** (Story of Nations).
 Ragozin, Z. A., **Chaldea** (Story of Nations).
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 Bosworth-Smith, R., **Carthage and the Carthaginians**.
 Bosworth-Smith, R., **Rome and Carthage** (Epochs of History).
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 Jewett, S. O., **The Normans** (Story of Nations).
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 Hassall, A., **Louis XIV., the Zenith of the French Monarchy** (Heroes of Nations).
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- Marvin, C., **Russia at the Gates of Herat**.
- Skobelev, General, **Siege of Daghil-Tepe**.
- [SEE ALSO UNDER COUNTRIES, IN CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.]
- 15 Marriott, J. A. R., **The Makers of Modern Italy**, Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi.
- Probyn, J. W., **Italy, from the Fall of Napoleon to 1890**.
- Hug, A., and Stead, R., **Switzerland** (Story of Nations).
- Boyesen, H. H., **Norway** (Story of Nations).
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- Archer, T. A., **The Crusades** (Story of Nations).
- Michaud, J. F., **History of the Crusades**.
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- Church, A. J., **Early Britain** (Story of Nations).
- Mackintosh, J., **Scotland** (Story of Nations).
- Lawless, E., **Ireland** (Story of Nations).
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- Rowley, J., **Rise of the People** (Epochs of History).
- Stubbs, W., **The Early Plantagenets**.
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- Royle, C., **The Egyptian Campaigns, 1882-85**.
- Russell, G. W. E., **Life of Gladstone**.
- [SEE ALSO ENGLAND, IN CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.]
- 18 Hunter, W. W., **Brief History of the People of India**.
- Lyall, A., **Rise of British Dominion in India**.
- Malleson, G. B., **The Indian Mutiny of 1857**.
- Lane-Poole, S., **Mohammedan India** (Story of Nations).
- Rhys-Davids, E., **Buddhist India** (Story of Nations).
- Williams, Monier, **Buddhism**.
- Curzon, G. N., **Russia in Central Asia**.
- 19 Bancroft, H. H., **History of the Pacific States**.
- Irving, W., **Life of Columbus**.
- Irving, W., **Life of Washington**.
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- Mahan, A. T., *Admiral Farragut.*
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- 20 Menzel, W., *History of Germany.*
- Gardiner, S. R., *The Thirty Years' War* (Epochs of History).
- Longman, F. W., *Frederick the Great, and the Seven Years' War* (Epochs of History).
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- Hodgkin, T., *Theodoric the Goth, the Barbarian Champion of Civilization.*
- Hodgkin T., *Italy and Her Invaders.*
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Attic Orators, R. C. Jebb. Living
Orators of America, 1854, E. L. Ma-
goon.
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Time</i> .
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III. INDEX OF FAMOUS EVENTS.

For the Authorities Referred to see after each Letter of the Alphabet.

EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
A BDICATION of Queen Christina of Sweden	A.D. 1654	IX	173	13
Abélard condemned by Council of Soissons	A.D. 1121	V	113	22
Abercromby in Ireland	A.D. 1796	XI	184	21
Actium, naval battle of	B.C. 31	III	101	11
Adams, John Quincy, on National Parties	A.D. 1825	VII	353	31
Æschylus, "The Battle of Salamis"	B.C. 480	X	122	29
Agincourt, battle of	A.D. 1415	VII	207	4
Akbar crowned Emperor of the Moguls	A.D. 1560	XI	122	32
Albigenses, end of their persecution	A.D. 1244	I	363	4
Albuquerque, Alfonso de, the capture of Goa	A.D. 1510	X	76	25
Alcuin founds seats of learning in France	A.D. 782	V	27	7
Alemanni driven from Rome	A.D. 273	VII	98	2
Alexander the Great at Arbela	B.C. 331	I	21	5
Alexander's successors	B.C. 323	VII	80	1
Alexander I. of Russia meets Napoleon at Tilsit	A.D. 1807	XII	12	4 33
Alexander II. of Russia frees serfs	A.D. 1860	XII	39	33
Alexander III. of Russia expels the Jews	A.D. 1891	XII	41	33
Alexandria, the city planned	B.C. 340	I	19	1
Alfred the Great, victory over Guthrum the Dane	A.D. 878	I	263	24
Ambrose, St., rebukes Theodosius	A.D. 390	IX	56	2
America discovered by Leif Ericson	A.D. 1000	I	105	8
America discovered by Columbus	A.D. 1492	II	143	2
American Philosophical Society founded by Benjamin Franklin	A.D. 1744	I	348	23
American Revolution: see in <i>Index of Characters</i> and in <i>Contents</i> , Adam, J., J. Q., and S.; Burr, A.; Chatham; Cornwallis; Dickinson, J.; Franklin, B.; Gates, H.; Greene, N.; Hamil- ton, A.; Henry, P.; Jackson, A.; Jay, J.; Jefferson, T.; Jones, P.; Lafayette; Lee, R. H.; Madison, J.; Marion, F.; Marshall, J.; Monroe, J.; Morgan, D.; Morris, R.; Putnam, I.; Rochambeau; Steuben; Washington; Wayne, A.				
American Foreign Policy, speech of Stephen A. Douglas	A.D. 1851	IX	281	30
Anne, Queen, and the Union of England and Scotland	A.D. 1707	IX	128	15
Antalcidas, the Peace of	B.C. 387	VII	57	3
Arbela, battle of	B.C. 331	I	21	5
Arc, Joan of, crowns Charles VII.	A.D. 1429	VII	26	16 17
Arc, Joan of, martyrdom of	A.D. 1431	VII	29	18 19
Archimedes, death of	B.C. 212	VI	197	1
Arctic exploration by Franklin, Ross, Parry, Rae, McClintock, Kane, Hayes, Hall, De Long, Grebley, Nordenskjöld, Peary	1815-1895	X	114	.
Ariosto, Lodovico, his poetical works	A.D. 1516	X	135	26
Aristophanes, his comedies	B.C. 423	X	128	27
Aristotle, philosophy of "the Ideal State"	B.C. 384	X	15	28
Armada, destruction of the Spanish	A.D. 1588	III	240	21
Arthur, Chester A., becomes President	A.D. 1881	XII	133	31

EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Asia first invaded by the Romans	B.C. 190	V	74	1
Athens, siege of, by Sulla	B.C. 86	III	59	10
Athenians destroyed at Syracuse	B.C. 413	VI	172	3
Athens fortified and enriched by Pericles	B.C. 460	I	110	9
Atlanta campaign of Sherman	A.D. 1864	VIII	112	14
Augustine, St., accuses Pelagius	A.D. 400	IX	65	20
Augustine of Canterbury and the conversion of England	A.D. 597	III	187	12
B ABYLON captured by Cyrus	B.C. 538	I	102	2 14
Babylon captured by Darius	B.C. 519	I	122	2 14
Babylon rebuilt by Semiramis	B.C. 740	VII	38	14
Bacon, Lord, on "The Vicissitude of Things"	A.D. 1620	X	20	26
Bacon, Roger, and the invention of gunpowder	A.D. 1260	X	158	27
Balboa, Vasco Nunez de, discovers the Pacific	A.D. 1513	X	70	28
Bancroft, G., founds the U. S. Naval Academy	A.D. 1845	X	314	34
Bannockburn, battle of	A.D. 1314	VI	298	13
Barbarossa, Frederic, crowned Emperor of the West	A.D. 1152	IX	70	20
Barons' War, the	A.D. 1265	VI	264	12
Bartholomew's Day, Massacre of St.	A.D. 1572	V	152	6
Barton, Clara, founds American Red Cross Society	A.D. 1882	X	292	29
Bastille and Madame de Pompadour	A.D. 1750	I	321	4
Bayard, Chevalier, at Bresse	A.D. 1510	II	131	24
Bayard, Thomas F., Minister to Great Britain	A.D. 1893	XII	160	34
Beaconsfield and the Berlin Treaty	A.D. 1878	X	219	30
Beauharnais executed	A.D. 1794	V	310	8
Becket, murder of Thomas à	A.D. 1170	III	108	3
Beecher, Henry Ward, in England	A.D. 1863	X	346	32
Beethoven, his compositions	A.D. 1795	VIII	396	19
Benton, Thomas H., opposes nullification	A.D. 1832	XI	340	35
Bernadotte, Marshal, King of Sweden	A.D. 1818	XI	131	33
Bismarck founds the German Empire	A.D. 1871	X	185	30
Black Hole of Calcutta, its horrors	A.D. 1756	VIII	321	18
Blenheim, battle of	A.D. 1704	IX	115	16
Boleyn, Anne, coronation of	A.D. 1533	VII	254	16
Bolivar, Simon, and the liberation of the Spanish-American republics	A.D. 1812	IX	391	23
Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis	A.D. 1779	VI	120	11
Bookselling after the invention of printing	A.D. 1470	V	387	9
Boone, Daniel, builds a fort at Louisville	A.D. 1774	XI	258	35
Bosworth Field, battle of	A.D. 1485	VII	223	15

AUTHORITIES QUOTED UNDER A.

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Braddock's defeat	A.D. 1755	VI	15	10
Brandenburg, the emergence of	A.D. 1657	IV	62	5
Bright, John, the Apostle of Reform	A.D. 1843	XI	213	33 94
Britain invaded by Cæsar	B.C. 55	III	16	1
Buchanan, James, sends an army against the Mormons	A.D. 1857	XI	357	36
Buena Vista, battle of	A.D. 1847	IX	268	22
Bunker Hill, battle of	A.D. 1775	I	174	7
Burke, Edmund, on American love of freedom	A.D. 1775	IX	229	21
Burr, Aaron, Mexican expedition of	A.D. 1805	VII	330	17
Butler, Benjamin F., captures New Orleans	A.D. 1862	XII	112	36
C ALHOUN, John C., made Secretary of State	A.D. 1844	XI	323	43
California, admission of advocated by Seward	A.D. 1850	VIII	53	32
Calvin condemns Servetus	A.D. 1553	XI	120	36
Camoens, Luis de, his poetical works	A.D. 1543	X	84	.
Canada discovered by Jacques Cartier	A.D. 1535	III	181	2 43
Canada lost by France to England	A.D. 1754	I	322	2
Cannæ, battle of	B.C. 216	V	52	22
Canonchet, the fate of	A.D. 1676	V	302	27
Canossa, Henry IV. goes to	A.D. 1077	IV	77, 93	15
Canute's letter to the people of England	A.D. 1026	III	132	7
Cape Good Hope sailed round by Vasco da Gama	A.D. 1497	IX	369	40
Capet, Hugh, crowned King of France	A.D. 987	I	379	8
Cardenas, battle of	A.D. 1898	XII	215	44
Carson, Kit, with Fremont	A.D. 1842	X	336	43
Carthage conquered by Scipio	B.C. 202	I	389	1
Carthage, destruction of	B.C. 146	V	86	24
Cass, Lewis, and the Quintuple Treaty	A.D. 1842	XI	363	35
Catiline's conspiracy	B.C. 63	III	47	12
Cavour, Count, accomplishes the unification of Italy	A.D. 1859	XII	69	45
Ceninenses, battle of	B.C. 750	I	86	3
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, "Don Quixote's First Battle"	A.D. 1605	X	150	14
Cervera, Admiral, defeated by American fleet	A.D. 1898	XII	259	44
Chæronea, battle of	B.C. 338	V	63	23
Chamberlain, Joseph, Secretary of State for the Colonies	A.D. 1895	XII	306	44
ChAMPLAIN, Lake, discovered	A.D. 1608	I	166	4
Chancellorsville, Stonewall Jackson's last battle	A.D. 1863	VIII	174	33
Charlemagne, coronation of	A.D. 801	V	16	21
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, defeated at Culloden	A.D. 1746	XI	91	18
Charles V. defeats Francis I. at Pavia	A.D. 1525	IX	145	36

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Chase, Salmon P., presides at impeachment of Andrew Johnson	A.D. 1868	IX	295	38
Chatham, Earl of, defence of American rights	A.D. 1778	VIII	349	34
Chatham, Earl of, death of	A.D. 1778	VIII	351	35
Charles V. and Spanish rule in Germany	A.D. 1546	IX	144	36
Charles I. of England condemned	A.D. 1649	I	140	5
Charles II. returns to London	A.D. 1660	XI	48	7 18
Charles XII. and the battle of Narva	A.D. 1700	II	272	25
China invaded by Jenghis Khan	A.D. 1212	IV	179	20
Chosroes defeated by Heraclius	A.D. 622	VII	138	20
Christina, Queen of Sweden, abdicates	A.D. 1654	IX	174	37
Church of England under Elizabeth	A.D. 1559	VIII	227	34
Cicero delivers his Philippics	A.D. 44	I	96	9
Cid, the, in history and poetry	A.D. 1060	VI	243	30
Clark, Charles E., in command of the "Oregon"	A.D. 1898	XII	271	44
Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee persecutes Covenanters	A.D. 1680	XI	74	7 18
Clay, Henry, Plea for the Union	A.D. 1850	VII	376	31
Cleopatra, death of	B.C. 30	III	119	13
Clermont, Council of	A.D. 1095	IV	105	16
Cleveland, Grover, vetoes Pension Bills	A.D. 1885	XII	140	44
Clovis embraces Christianity	A.D. 496	VI	237	8
Cobden, Richard, inaugurates Free Trade	A.D. 1846	XI	206	45
Cronje, Piet at Paardeberg	A.D. 1900	XII	298	44
Coliseum of Rome, description by Gibbon	A.D. 50	XI	179	20
Columbus in Chains	A.D. 1500	II	150	10
Confucius, the sage of China	B.C. 551	XI	389	46
Congress of 1774 in Philadelphia	A.D. 1774	III	357	41
Constantine and the Standard of the Cross	A.D. 312	VII	115	20
Constantinople, conquest of	A.D. 1453	VIII	283	20
Constitution, formation of the American	A.D. 1787	VI	37	28
Cook, Captain, his last voyage	A.D. 1778	V	281	26
Cornwallis in Virginia	A.D. 1781	VI	153	29
Cornwallis, surrender of	A.D. 1781	VI	136	27
Cortez, and the Bridge of Sorrow	A.D. 1521	II	183	11
Coup d'État of Napoleon III.	A.D. 1851	IX	311	39
Cowpens, battle of	A.D. 1780	I	195	6
Crécy, battle of	A.D. 1346	I	56	7
Cromwell, Oliver, at Naseby	A.D. 1645	I	139	5
Crusades, Peter the Hermit	A.D. 1095	IV	109	16
Crusades, siege of Jerusalem	A.D. 1099	IV	124	17
Crusades, Richard Cœur de Lion	A.D. 1191	IV	155	18
Crusades, Saladin's truce	A.D. 1192	IV	168	19
Crusades of St. Louis (Louis IX.)	A.D. 1249	I	363	8
Crusades of St. Louis (Louis IX.)	A.D. 1267	I	305	8
Cuba discovered by Columbus	A.D. 1492	II	139	10
Custer, General, his last battle	A.D. 1876	X	252	42
Cuzco, siege and burning of	A.D. 1536	II	165	11

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
DAMASCUS, siege of	B.C. 300	I	19	1
Damascus captured by Tamerlane	A.D. 1401	IV	189	3
Dante, his life and works	A.D. 1265	VII	155	5
Darius invades India	B.C. 512	I	125	1
Darwin, Charles R., and the "Origin of Species"	A.D. 1859	X	46	11
Davis, Jefferson, inaugural address	A.D. 1861	X	269	13
Decatur, Stephen, recaptures the "Philadelphia"	A.D. 1804	XI	269	18
Declaration of Independence	A.D. 1776	IV	348	4
Delaware, first steamboat on the	A.D. 1787	II	377	9
De Soto discovers the Mississippi	A.D. 1541	I	71	8
Dewey, George, enters Manila Bay	A.D. 1898	XII	234	17
Dickinson, John, on the causes for taking up arms	A.D. 1775	VI	65	13
Diplomacy of Franklin	A.D. 1778	I	355	16
Diplomacy of W. H. Seward	A.D. 1861	VIII	54	6
Douglas, Stephen A., on American Foreign Policy	A.D. 1851	IX	281	7
Dunbar, defeat of the Scots at	A.D. 1650	I	141	2
Dunkirk, siege of	A.D. 1658	V	182	10
Drake, Sir Francis, at San Francisco and St. Augustine	A.D. 1577	I	271	8
Dreyfus, Alfred, degraded by conspiracy	A.D. 1894	X	393	17
Drogheda, battle of	A.D. 1649	I	140	2
EDICT of Nantes, revocation of	A.D. 1685	II	329	1
Egyptian crusade of Louis IX	A.D. 1249	I	365	2
Eldorado of Sir Walter Raleigh	A.D. 1595	I	66	3
England, conversion of, by St. Augustine	A.D. 597	III	187	4
Ericson builds the "Monitor"	A.D. 1862	X	228	9
Eruption of Vesuvius, the first	A.D. 79	I	396	5
Ethandune, battle between Saxons and Danes	A.D. 878	I	261	6
Eugene, Prince of Savoy, captures Belgrades from the Turks	A.D. 1717	XI	127	10
Eutaw Springs, battle of	A.D. 1781	I	190	7

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Evans, Robley D., in command of the "Iowa"	A.D. 1898	XII	279	11
Evesham, battle of	A.D. 1265	VI	270	8
Execution of Lady Jane Grey	A.D. 1554	I	373	6
Edward VII comes to throne	A.D. 1901	XII	320	19
Eddy, Mary B. G. founder of Christian Science	A.D. 1866	XII	295	19
F ARRAGUT, Admiral, the "River Fight"	A.D. 1862	VIII	207	11
Fehrbellin, battle of	A.D. 1675	IV	68	5
Fénelon made Archbishop of Cambrai	A.D. 1695	V	188	6
Field of the Cloth of Gold	A.D. 1520	VII	243	9
Fillmore, Millard, and Clay's "Omnibus Bill"	A.D. 1850	XI	333	16
Five Forks, battle of	A.D. 1865	VIII	132	10
Florentine Despot, Lorenzo de' Medici, the	A.D. 1469	VI	316	8
Fort Fisher, capture of	A.D. 1864	XI	376	17
Fox, George, founds the sect of Quakers	A.D. 1624	XI	69	15
France, kingdom of, founded by Hugh Capet	A.D. 987	I	379	1
Francis I. defeated at battle of Pavia	A.D. 1525	II	118	3
Francis of Assisi founds the Franciscan Order	A.D. 1223	XI	104	1 12
Franklin, Benjamin, his political, literary, economic, and diplomatic achievements	A.D. 1729	I	346	2
Frederic Barbarossa, the mediæval Cæsar	A.D. 1155	IX	73	12
Frederic the Great, his battles: Kolin, Rosbach, Leuthen, Torgau	A.D. 1757	IV	37	4
Frederic the Great, his first battle, Mollwitz	A.D. 1741	IV	15	7
Frederic II., the "Unbelieving Crusader"	A.D. 1210	IX	80	13
Fremont crosses the Rocky Mountains	A.D. 1842	X	330	14
French Revolution. See Corday, Josephine, Lafayette, Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, Masséna, Mirabeau, Napoleon, Necker, Ney, Robespierre, Rochambeau, Roland, De Staël	A.D. 1807	XII	11	1 18
G AINSBOROUGH, Cromwell's first victory	A.D. 1643	I	139	1
Galileo and the invention of the telescope	A.D. 1564	X	24	22
Gallatin, Albert; his financial measures	A.D. 1801	XI	250	8
Gama, Vasco da, discovers Cape of Good Hope	A.D. 1497	IX	364	23
Gambetta and the siege of Paris	A.D. 1871	X	200	. . .
Garibaldi and the unification of Italy	A.D. 1867	IX	341	20
Garfield, President, assassinated	A.D. 1881	X	238	. . .
Garter, Order of the, instituted	A.D. 1344	I	61	6
Gaul invaded by Attila.	A.D. 451	III	175	10
Genoa, siege of	A.D. 1800	V	325	14
George III. as a king	A.D. 1760	IX	202	19
Georgia, foundation of, by Oglethorpe	A.D. 1732	II	356	8
Gergovia, siege of	B.C. 52	III	44	9
Germany liberated from Roman rule; Varus defeated by Arminius (Hermann)	A.D. 9	I	76	2

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Germany established as a nation	A.D. 919	IV	71	9
Germanic league founded	A.D. 1785	IX	197	18
German Emperor, William I. of Prussia, proclaimed	A.D. 1871	IX	347	21
Gettysburg, General Lee's report of the campaign	A.D. 1863	VIII	147	26
Ghent, treaty of	A.D. 1814	XI	252	8 29
Gibbon, Edward, publishes his "Roman Empire"	A.D. 1776	XI	178	10
Giotto, his paintings	A.D. 1334	VII	184	24
Gladstone praises the United States	A.D. 1870	X	212	28
Godwin banished by Harold	A.D. 1051	II	281	7
Goethe's Jubilee at Weimar	A.D. 1825	V	374	27
Gonsalvo crosses the Garigliano	A.D. 1504	III	227	11
Gordon, Gen. C. G., entry into Khartoum	A.D. 1885	IX	387	25
Gracchi, deeds of the	B.C. 180	I	329	3
Granada, capture of	A.D. 1491	III	213	11
Granson, battle of	A.D. 1476	I	129	4
Grant, Gen. U. S., his achievements	A.D. 1865	VIII	102	16
Great Britain declared a Commonwealth	A.D. 1649	I	140	1
Greece conquered by Philip of Macedon	B.C. 338	V	64	13
Greeley, Horace, founds the <i>New York Tribune</i>	A.D. 1841	XI	379	29
Gregory VII. deposes Henry IV.	A.D. 1075	IV	96	12
Grey, Lady Jane, execution of	A.D. 1554	I	373	6
Graspan, battle of	A.D. 1899	XII	298	30
Guilford Court House, battle of	A.D. 1781	I	183	5
Gunpowder Plot, the	A.D. 1605	IX	92	17
Guthrum the Dane becomes a Christian	A.D. 878	I	267	6
Guzman sacrifices his son	A.D. 1294	VII	150	15
H ADRIAN, the Imperial tourist	A.D. 130	IX	46	21
Halidon Hill, battle of	A.D. 1333	I	55	1
Hamilton, Alexander, shot by Aaron Burr	A.D. 1804	IV	373	14
Hannibal conquered by Scipio	B.C. 202	I	389	2
Hapsburgs, Rudolf, the first of the	A.D. 1273	XI	25	11
Haroun al Raschid sends gifts to Charlemagne	A.D. 802	V	37	15
Harper's Ferry, John Brown at	A.D. 1859	X	323	26
Harrison, Benjamin, and the Mafia affair at New Orleans	A.D. 1891	XII	175	31
Harrison, William H., at Tippecanoe	A.D. 1811	XI	310	29
Harvard College founded	A.D. 1638	I	291	5
Hastings, battle of	A.D. 1066	I	49	3
Hastings, trial of Warren	A.D. 1788	VIII	336	20
Hayes, Rutherford B., elected President	A.D. 1876	XII	122	30
Hegira, the flight of Mohammed	A.D. 622	VIII	267	19

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Henry I. married Maud the Saxon	A.D. 1100	IV	149	12
Henry V. of Germany, the dispute about investitures	A.D. 1112	IV	140	11
Henry VIII. divorces Katherine of Aragon	A.D. 1533	VII	249	17
Henry the Navigator, and the mariner's compass	A.D. 1394	X	58	23
Henry, Patrick, speech of	A.D. 1775	III	350	. . .
Hermann (Arminius), victory over Varus	A.D. 9	I	79	6
Heraclea, battle of	B.C. 280	II	79	9
Herculaneum overwhelmed	A.D. 79	I	394	4
Hobson, Richmond P., sinks the "Merrimac"	A.D. 1898	XII	272	31
Hofer, Andrew, execution of, by order of Napoleon	A.D. 1810	VII	322	18
Horace, poetical works	B.C. 40	VI	226	24
Houston, Sam., defeats Santa Anna	A.D. 1836	XI	296	28
Hudson Bay discovered by Hudson	A.D. 1610	I	152	8
Hudson River discovered by Hudson	A.D. 1609	I	152	7
Hudson River, first steamboat on the	A.D. 1807	II	386	10
Hugo, Victor, poetical works	A.D. 1802	IX	321	22
Huguenot leader, Admiral Coligny, killed	A.D. 1572	V	148	16
Humboldt, A. von, his travels and works	A.D. 1769	X	40	25
Hungarian Revolution	A.D. 1848	XI	141	27
I NPEACHMENT of Andrew Johnson	A.D. 1868	IX	295	7
Impeachment of the five members by Charles I.	A.D. 1642	V	249	4
India invaded by Darius	B.C. 512	I	125	1
India invaded by Alexander the Great	B.C. 327	I	20	1
India under Aurengzebe	A.D. 1686	VIII	305	6
India, conquest of, by Lord Clive	A.D. 1757	VIII	319	4
Insurrection, Wat Tyler's	A.D. 1381	VII	188	5
Ionic revolt, the	B.C. 501	I	125	1
Irving, Washington, Minister to Spain	A.D. 1842	X	308	9
Italy invaded by the Cimri and Teutones	B.C. 101	II	96	2
Italy invaded by Alaric	A.D. 402	III	168	3
Italy, Garibaldi's campaign	A.D. 1859	IX	332	8
J AMES I., and the Gunpowder Plot	A.D. 1605	IX	92	8
James II., defeated in the Battle of the Boyne	A.D. 1690	XI	63	6 8
James Edward, the Old Pretender, defeated	A.D. 1715	XI	84	6 8

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Jameson's raid into the Transvaal	A.D. 1895	X	381	14
Jay's treaty with England	A.D. 1794	IV	359	2
Jefferson inaugurated as President	A.D. 1801	IV	385	3
Jerusalem destroyed by Titus	A.D. 70	IX	14	7
Jerusalem, siege of, by Godfrey de Bouillon	A.D. 1099	IV	124	12
Jerusalem and Joppa, siege of	A.D. 1192	IV	168	13
Jesuits, fall of, in France	A.D. 1764	I	322	1
Jews expelled from England	A.D. 1287	VI	277	6
John of Austria, and the battle of Lepanto	A.D. 1571	IX	157	9
Johnson, Andrew, impeachment of	A.D. 1868	XII	84	8 15
Joseph II., and the Germanic League	A.D. 1785	IX	197	10
Josephine crowned Empress of France	A.D. 1804	V	318	5
Jugurtha, capture of	B.C. 106	V	103	4
Justinian reforms the laws of Rome	A.D. 530	I	341	11
K				
KAUNITZ, Count, and his masterful diplomacy	A.D. 1756	IX	185	2
Khartoum, General Gordon in	A.D. 1885	IX	386	4
Kitchener takes Khartoum	A.D. 1898	X	392	6
Knights Templars instituted	A.D. 1118	V	122	1
Kossuth, Louis, made Governor of Hungary	A.D. 1849	XI	138	2
Kruger elected President of the Transvaal	A.D. 1883	X	387	6
Kublai Khan, visited by Marco Polo	A.D. 1250	X	94	5
Kunaxa, battle of	B.C. 401	VII	48	3
L				
LANDING of Columbus	A.D. 1492	II	143	24
Lawrence, Captain James. The loss of the "Chesapeake"	A.D. 1813	XI	262	29
League, war of the	A.D. 1585	III	158	12
Lee, Richard Henry, advocates independence	A.D. 1776	IV	332	15
Lee, Gen. Robert E., report on the Gettysburg Campaign	A.D. 1863	VIII	147	25
Leif Ericson discovers Vinland (Mass.?)	A.D. 1000	I	107	3
Leo X. and the invasion of the Church by Art	A.D. 1513	VIII	375	19
Leo XIII. crowned Pope	A.D. 1878	X	368	28
Leonardo da Vinci paints "The Last Supper"	A.D. 1498	X	163	6
Leonidas at Thermopylæ	B.C. 480	I	225	5
Lepanto, naval battle of	A.D. 1571	IX	160	21
Lesseps, Ferdinand de, and the Suez Canal	A.D. 1867	IX	372	23
Leuctra, battle of	B.C. 370	I	34	2
Leyden, deliverance of	A.D. 1573	XI	10	21 26
Liège, revolt suppressed	A.D. 1468	I	127	1
Li Hung Chang subdues Taiping rebellion	A.D. 1864	XII	57	31
Lincoln, Abraham, his life and work	A.D. 1861	VIII	5	18
Livingstone, David, his African explorations	A.D. 1840	X	100	20
Locomotive, the first	A.D. 1829	II	396	11

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign	A.D. 1840	XI	312	30
London, great fire of	A.D. 1666	XI	54	27
Louis XI. visits Charles the Bold	A.D. 1468	IV	226	1
Louis XIV. and the Duchesse de la Vallière	A.D. 1661	II	310	9
Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan	A.D. 1668	II	320	9
Louis XIV., campaign in Belgium	A.D. 1672	II	301	7
Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon	A.D. 1674	II	325	14
Louis XIV., death of	A.D. 1715	II	307	8
Louis XV., the diversions of	A.D. 1745	VII	288	17
Louis XV., death of	A.D. 1774	I	323	13
Louis XVI., deposition and execution of	A.D. 1793	III	305	13
Louisa, Queen of Prussia, appeals to Napoleon	A.D. 1806	IX	236	22
Louisburg, General Wolfe at	A.D. 1758	III	332	10
Loyola, Ignatius, founds the Society of Jesus (Jesuits)	A.D. 1540	XI	399	19
Luther nails up his theses	A.D. 1517	X	304	19
Lützen, battle of	A.D. 1632	V	214	16
Lycurgus promulgates laws of Sparta	B.C. 970	I	29	4
M ACEDONIA invaded by Pyrrhus	B.C. 287	II	78	8
Macaulay, Lord, issues his History of England	A.D. 1848	XI	222	25 37
MacMahon, Marshal, wins battle of Magenta	A.D. 1859	XII	77	32 34
Magellan, Fernando, and the partition of the world	A.D. 1520	X	65	37
Magenta, battle of	A.D. 1859	IX	338	34
Magna Charta granted	A.D. 1215	V	243	52
Magnesia, battle of	B.C. 190	V	74	23
Mahan, Alfred T., and the Naval Board of Strategy	A.D. 1898	XII	179	39
Maine, the destruction of the	A.D. 1898	XII	205	39
Manila, Dewey's victory at	A.D. 1898	XII	289	39
Mantinæa, battle of	B.C. 383	I	34	2
Marat, assassination of, by Charlotte Corday	A.D. 1793	VI	352	19
Marathon, battle of	B.C. 490	I	304	1
Marcus Aurelius, death of	A.D. 180	II	259	14
Maria Theresa, her admirable reign	A.D. 1740	IX	181	32
Marie Antoinette, death of	A.D. 1793	III	326	19
Marie de Médicis exiled	A.D. 1617	VII	272	27
Marius defeats the Cimbræ	B.C. 101	II	96	8
Marlborough, Duke of, and the battle of Blenheim	A.D. 1704	IX	113	31
Marshall, John, appointed Chief Justice	A.D. 1800	XI	244	41
Marston Moor, battle of	A.D. 1644	I	139	3
Martel, Charles, victory at Tours	A.D. 732	I	42	1
Mary, reign of Queen	A.D. 1553	III	250	18

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Mary, Queen of Scots, married to Darnley	A.D. 1565	II	236	12
Mary, Queen of Scots, execution of	A.D. 1587	II	248	13
Maryland, settlement of	A.D. 1632	II	362	16
Mason and Slidell taken by Wilkes	A.D. 1861	X	355	38
Massachusetts coast discovered	A.D. 1000	I	107	4
Massachusetts Bay Colony formed	A.D. 1629	I	291	5
Masinissa at Zama	B.C. 202	V	96	23
Matilda of Flanders marries William the Conqueror	A.D. 1053	II	286	15
Mazarin, Cardinal, and the Child King	A.D. 1643	V	162	24
McKinley, Wm., author of Protective Tariff Bill	A.D. 1890	XII	186	39
Mentana, defeat of Garibaldi at	A.D. 1867	IX	341	35
Methuen, Lord, captured by Delarey	A.D. 1902	XII	299	39
Metaurus, battle of the, death of Hasdrubal	B.C. 207	V	48	22
Mexico, conquered by Cortez	A.D. 1520	II	175	10
Mexico, city of, captured by Gen. W. Scott	A.D. 1847	IX	258	26
Mézières saved by Chevalier Bayard	A.D. 1522	II	130	9
Michael Angelo, death of	A.D. 1564	II	226	11
Miles, Nelson A., defeats "Sitting-Bull"	A.D. 1876	XII	273	42
Mirabeau, leader of the National Assembly	A.D. 1791	IV	289	19
Mississippi discovered by De Soto	A.D. 1541	I	71	6
Mississippi explored by Marquette and Joliet	A.D. 1673	I	279	6
Mithradates, death of	B.C. 63	III	72	17
Mogul Empire founded	A.D. 1526	VIII	299	29
Molière, his comedies	A.D. 1654	IV	264	20
Mollwitz, battle of	A.D. 1741	IX	15	19
Moltke, Count von, and the battle of Sedan	A.D. 1870	IX	354	36
Monmouth, battle of	A.D. 1778	VI	91	26
Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor	A.D. 1685	XI	61	25
Monroe Doctrine, the	A.D. 1823	VII	351	28
Monthéri, battle of	A.D. 1465	I	127	7
Moore, Sir John, at Corunna	A.D. 1809	XI	187	40
Morat, battle of	A.D. 1476	I	128	7
Morris, Robert, financier of the Revolution	A.D. 1781	IV	340	21
Morse, Samuel F. B., and the origin of the telegraph	A.D. 1832	IX	270	33
Mozart, his musical compositions	A.D. 1756	VIII	387	30
Mutilation of the Hermæ	B.C. 415	VI	164	8

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
NANCI, capture of	A.D. 1475	I	128	1
Nanci, Charles the Bold killed at	A.D. 1477	I	129	1
Napoleon, Buonaparte, born	A.D. 1768	II	5	3
Napoleon, early victories	A.D. 1793	II	8	3
Napoleon, Italian campaign	A.D. 1796	II	20	3
Napoleon, Egyptian campaign	A.D. 1798	II	13	3
Napoleon, first Consul	A.D. 1799	II	30	4
Napoleon, battle of Austerlitz	A.D. 1805	II	40	4
Napoleon, retreat from Moscow	A.D. 1812	II	35	3
Napoleon, battle of Waterloo	A.D. 1815	II	61	5
Napoleon, death of, at St. Helena	A.D. 1821	II	40	3
Napoleon: see also Josephine, Marie Louise, Lafayette, Massena, Ney, Talleyrand, De Staël, Récamier, Queen Louisa, Pitt, Blücher, Wellington				
Napoleon III. and the Coup d'État	A.D. 1851	IX	311	6
Narva, battle of	A.D. 1700	II	272	7
Naseby, battle of	A.D. 1645	I	139	2
National Guard of France founded by Lafayette	A.D. 1789	VI	100	13
Navaretta, battle of	A.D. 1367	IV	199	10
Naxos, battle of	B.C. 376	I	252	11
Necker, and the States-General	A.D. 1789	IV	313	12
Nero, and the burning of Rome	A.D. 64	VIII	369	18
Netherlands, Sir Philip Sidney in the	A.D. 1585	VIII	245	17
New Netherland under Sir Peter Stuyvesant	A.D. 1647	II	367	8
New Orleans, battle of, Jan. 8	A.D. 1815	VII	366	15
New Orleans surrenders to Admiral Farragut	A.D. 1862	VIII	206	16
Newspaper, first English, printed	A.D. 1641	XI	71	22
Newton, Sir Isaac, and the Royal Society	A.D. 1687	X	35	19
Ney, the last charge of Marshal	A.D. 1815	II	72	14
Nicholas I. of Russia subjects Poland	A.D. 1831	XII	19	24
Nicholas II. of Russia issues his Peace Manifesto	A.D. 1898	XII	51	25
Nicholas V., Pope, founds the University of Glasgow	A.D. 1447	XI	225	23
Nightingale, Florence, her army medical reforms	A.D. 1855	X	287	20
Nordenskjöld, Baron, Arctic explorations	A.D. 1878	X	120	21
Northmen in France	A.D. 876	III	137	9
OTES, Titus, and the Popish Plot	A.D. 1678	XI	52	26
O'Connell, eloquence of	A.D. 1830	X	234	16
Oglethorpe, James E., colonizes Georgia	A.D. 1732	II	353	21
Oratory of Pericles	B.C. 430	I	112	9
Oratory of Demosthenes	B.C. 330	I	247	2
Oratory of Cicero	B.C. 50	I	96	1
Oratory of John Adams	A.D. 1797	IV	350	12
Oratory of John Quincy Adams	A.D. 1831	VII	352	11

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Oratory of James G. Blaine	A.D. 1880	X	247	23
Oratory of Edmund Burke	A.D. 1775	IX	229	4
Oratory of John C. Calhoun	A.D. 1847	VII	383	20
Oratory of Henry Clay	A.D. 1831	VII	374	19
Oratory of Jefferson Davis	A.D. 1861	X	272	24
Oratory of Stephen A. Douglas	A.D. 1851	IX	281	6
Oratory of James A. Garfield	A.D. 1880	X	239	22
Oratory of William E. Gladstone	A.D. 1880	X	212	13
Oratory of Henry W. Grady	A.D. 1888	X	278	15
Oratory of Patrick Henry	A.D. 1775	III	350	17
Oratory of Abraham Lincoln	A.D. 1863	VIII	36	14
Oratory of Wendell Phillips	A.D. 1860	X	231	16
Oratory of William Pitt	A.D. 1800	IX	215	5
Oratory of Alexander H. Stephens	A.D. 1861	IX	302	8
Oratory of Charles Sumner	A.D. 1859	IX	289	7
Oratory of Daniel Webster	A.D. 1830	VII	390	18
Ordinance of 1357, the great	A.D. 1357	VI	308	3
Osawatomie, John Brown at	A.D. 1856	X	322	25
Oscar I., King of Sweden	A.D. 1844	XI	132	11
Oscar II., King of Sweden	A.D. 1872	XI	132	11
Ostend Manifesto	A.D. 1854	XI	337	11
Osman Pasha's defence of Plevna	A.D. 1878	X	296	10
PALISSY, the potter, born	A.D. 1510	IV	392	21
Palmer, John M., and the Great Chicago Fire	A.D. 1871	XII	166	36
Palmyra, surrender of	A.D. 273	VII	106	24
Paré, Ambrose, on the treatment of gunshot wounds	A.D. 1545	X	169	20
Parnell, C. S., imprisoned for treason	A.D. 1881	XI	239	35
Pasteur, Louis, the prevention of disease by inoculation	A.D. 1870	X	174	18
Pavia, battle of	A.D. 1525	II	118	11
Peel, Sir Robert, and the repeal of the Corn Laws	A.D. 1846	XI	198	35
Peloponnesian War	B.C. 432	I	111	1
Penn's trial by jury	A.D. 1670	V	267	34
Pennsylvania, settlement of	A.D. 1682	V	263	17
Pentaur's Egyptian Epic	B.C. 1350	I	215	9
Pericles, campaigns of	B.C. 430	I	111	1
Perry, M. C., and the opening of Japan	A.D. 1852	XI	367	37
Perry, O. H., defeats British fleet on Lake Erie	A.D. 1813	XI	278	17
Persian Empire organized by Darius	B.C. 519	I	124	2
Peru, conquest of	A.D. 1533	II	161	13
Pharsalus, battle of	B.C. 48	III	32	19
Phidias, sculptures of	B.C. 438	I	120	4
Philadelphia Library Company founded by Benjamin Franklin	A.D. 1742	I	348	3
Pretoria occupied by British	A.D. 1900	XII	299	39

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Speeches. 25 Sanborn, F. P., *John Brown*. 26 Macaulay, *History of England*.

EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Philip of Macedon master of Greece	B.C. 338	V	63	5
Phillips, Wendell, and the abolition movement	A.D. 1860	X	231	26
Pierce, Franklin, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act	A.D. 1854	XI	337	17
Pike's Peak, discovery of	A.D. 1806	X	330	17
Pitt, William, refuses to negotiate with France	A.D. 1800	IX	215	27
Plassey, battle of	A.D. 1757	VIII	319	25
Plataiai, battle of	B.C. 479	I	313	5
Plato, his philosophy	B.C. 360	X	5	32
Plevna, siege of	A.D. 1878	X	297	34
Pliny the Younger's account of the first eruption of Vesuvius	A.D. 79	I	396	6
Plymouth, settlement of	A.D. 1620	II	340	16
Poems of Victor Hugo	A.D. 1885	IX	322	28
Poitiers, battle of	A.D. 732	I	42	7
Poitiers, battle of	A.D. 1356	I	58	8
Poland, the last King of	A.D. 1764	IV	254	15
Poland, first partition of	A.D. 1773	II	200	13
Poland, downfall of	A.D. 1794	II	213	14
Polk, James K., war with Mexico	A.D. 1847	XI	329	17
Polo, Marco, visits Kublai Khan	A.D. 1250	X	94	29
Pompey in the East	B.C. 48	III	84	19
Porter, David, Commodore in the "Essex"	A.D. 1814	XI	292	17
Porter, David D., at the siege of Vicksburg	A.D. 1863	XI	375	38
Preston, battle of	A.D. 1648	I	140	10
Princeton, battle of	A.D. 1777	VI	30	23
Printing, invention of	A.D. 1450	V	383	22
Printing, Caxton at work	A.D. 1477	V	391	22
Proclamation of the German Empire by Bismarck	A.D. 1871	X	185	33
Providence, settlement of	A.D. 1636	II	346	17
Putnam, General, at Bunker Hill	A.D. 1775	I	174	30
Pym impeaches Strafford in the Commons	A.D. 1641	XI	32	10
Pyrrhus, victories of	B.C. 281	II	77	31
Q UEBEC, battle of	A.D. 1759	III	342	1
Queen Anne of England	A.D. 1702	IX	126	2
Queen Anne Boleyn	A.D. 1530	VII	254	3
Queen Catherine II. (Empress) of Russia	A.D. 1762	II	192	4
Queen Christina of Sweden	A.D. 1650	IX	173	5
Queen Elizabeth of England	A.D. 1559	VIII	220	6
Queen Isabella of Spain	A.D. 1472	III	208	7
Queen Josephine (Empress) of France	A.D. 1804	V	307	8

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Queen Katherine (of Aragon) of England	A.D. 1509	VII	247	9
Queen Louisa of Prussia	A.D. 1797	IX	235	10
Queen Marie Antoinette of France	A.D. 1774	III	315	11
Queen Marie Louise (Empress) of France	A.D. 1810	V	336	12
Queen Marie de Médicis	A.D. 1610	VII	270	13
Queen Mary of England	A.D. 1553	III	250	14
Queen Mary of Scotland	A.D. 1559	II	233	15
Queen Matilda (of Flanders) of England	A.D. 1053	II	286	16
Queen Zenobia of Palmyra	A.D. 266	VII	104	17
R ALEIGH, Sir Walter, his expeditions to America	A.D. 1584	I	63	1
Ramses II., his conquests and deeds	B.C. 1460	I	212	2
Rape of the Sabines	B.C. 753	I	85	3
Raphael, his paintings	A.D. 1483	VIII	379	4
Ravenna, capture of	A.D. 539	VII	128	5
Récamier, Madame, her salon	A.D. 1800	VI	395	6
Revolution, the English	A.D. 1688	IX	99	7
Rhodes, Cecil, his policy in South Africa	A.D. 1894	X	380	21
Richard I. in the Holy Land	A.D. 1191	IV	155	8
Richard II. deposed	A.D. 1399	VII	190	9
Richard III. falls on Bosworth Field	A.D. 1485	VII	223	10
Roberts, General Lord, victory at Kandahar	A.D. 1878	X	377	21
Robespierre unmasked	A.D. 1793	IV	323	11
Rochambeau, Count, at the surrender of Yorktown	A.D. 1781	VI	136	12
Rochelle, siege of	A.D. 1627	V	131	13
Rocroy, battle of	A.D. 1643	V	174	7
Roland, Madame, guillotined	A.D. 1793	IV	306	15
Rollo and the Northmen of France	A.D. 900	III	135	16
Roman Emperor, the first	B.C. 27	VI	200	17
Rome founded	B.C. 753	I	83	3
Rome burnt by Nero	A.D. 64	VIII	369	18
Rome, Henry IV. goes to	A.D. 1081	IV	81	19
Roosevelt, Theodore, with "Rough Riders" at San Juan	A.D. 1898	XII	279	49
Rousseau writes his "Contrat social"	A.D. 1762	XI	167	11
Rudolf of Hapsburg crowned King of the Romans	A.D. 1273	XI	23	22
Rufus, death of William	A.D. 1100	III	147	20

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
SABINES, abduction of the	B.C. 753	I	85	1
Salamis, sea fight at	B.C. 480	I	236	2
Salisbury, Lord, first made Premier	A.D. 1885	XII	311	49
Sampson, W. T., Rear Admiral, blockades Cuba	A.D. 1898	XII	251	49
San Francisco explored by Sir F. Drake	A.D. 1577	I	271	3
San Jacinto, battle of	A.D. 1836	XI	296	47
San Juan, bombardment of	A.D. 1898	XII	284	49
Santiago, destruction of Spanish fleet at	A.D. 1898	XII	220	49
Saratoga, Burgoyne's surrender at	A.D. 1777	VI	73	4
Sardis burnt by the Athenians	B.C. 501	I	125	5
Sardis, battle of	B.C. 546	I	101	5
Sarpi, Paolo, church historian	A.D. 1610	XI	109	46
Savonarola, burning of	A.D. 1498	VI	325	21
Schiller, F. von, at Weimar	A.D. 1790	V	345	18
Schley, Winfield S., in "Brooklyn" at Santiago	A.D. 1898	XII	256	49
Scipio Africanus invades Africa	B.C. 202	I	391	6
Scipio Africanus Minor destroys Carthage	B.C. 147	V	84	7
Scott, Sir Walter, his works	A.D. 1820	III	384	16
Scott, Gen. Winfield, the capture of the City of Mexico	A.D. 1847	IX	257	10
Sebastopol, fall of	A.D. 1855	X	283	44
Secession, J. C. Calhoun on	A.D. 1850	VII	383	28
Sedan, battle of	A.D. 1870	IX	354	37
Seneca exiled	A.D. 41	IX	27	32
Septuagint Version of Scriptures compiled	B.C. 250	VII	87	25
Sertorius begins war in Spain	B.C. 78	II	108	1
Steyn, President Orange Free State	A.D. 1899	XII	298	49
Shakespeare, his works	A.D. 1594	III	258	12
Shiloh, Gen. A. S. Johnston killed at battle of	A.D. 1862	VIII	188	29
Shrewsbury, battle of	A.D. 1403	VII	197	26
Sicily, Norman conquest of	A.D. 1060	VI	256	20
Sigsbee, Charles D., Commander of the "Maine"	A.D. 1898	XII	228	49
Skobelev, General, capture of Geok Tepe	A.D. 1881	X	300	43
Socrates, last address to the Athenians	B.C. 400	VII	66	24
Solferino, battle of	A.D. 1859	IX	334	36
Solon frames laws for Athens	B.C. 594	I	219	7
Spanish-American War	A.D. 1898	XII	202	49
Spanish Armada destroyed	A.D. 1588	I	270	3
Spanish conquest of Germany	A.D. 1546	IX	153	33
Spenser, Edmund, his poems	A.D. 1590	VIII	253	31
Spinning Frame, invention of the	A.D. 1769	III	372	15
St. Augustine explored by Drake	A.D. 1586	I	274	3
St. Sophia built by Emperor Justinian	A.D. 527	I	339	8
St. Petersburg, founded by Peter the Great	A.D. 1703	VI	348	22
Staël, Madame de, her writings	A.D. 1804	VI	384	23
Stanley, Henry M., African explorations	A.D. 1870	X	108	42
Stanton, Edwin M., becomes Secretary of War	A.D. 1862	XII	103	30 48
Steam engine, invention of the	A.D. 1769	III	363	14
Steamboat, the first, on the Delaware	A.D. 1787	II	377	40
Steamboat, the first, on the Hudson	A.D. 1807	II	386	41
Stephens, Alexander H., on slavery and union	A.D. 1861	I	274	3
{ A.D. 1878	IX	299	35	
Steuben, Baron, his war tactics	A.D. 1779	VI	109	19
Stevens, Thaddeus, impeaches Andrew Johnson	A.D. 1868	XII	84	48
Stirling, battle of	A.D. 1298	VI	288	16
Stockton, Com., seizes Monterey, Cal.	A.D. 1845	X	333	45
Stony Point Fort stormed by General Wayne	A.D. 1779	I	298	9
Stuyvesant, Governor, of New Netherland	A.D. 1647	II	367	39

EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Suez Canal opened	A.D. 1867	IX	377	38
Sully visits Queen Elizabeth	A.D. 1601	VII	279	27
Sumner, Charles, on Abolition	A.D. 1859	IX	289	34
Sumter, capture of Fort	A.D. 1861	VIII	197	30
Swamp Fox, exploits of the	A.D. 1780	I	203	10
Swedish peasants, rising of the	A.D. 1537	V	200	17
Switzerland invaded by Charles the Bold	A.D. 1476	I	129	11
Syracuse, capture of	B.C. 212	VI	189	1
T AHITI discovered by Bougainville	A.D. 1768	V	289	6
Taj-Mahal, building of the	A.D. 1640	VIII	313	11
Tamerlane captures Damascus	A.D. 1401	IV	189	23
Talleyrand's diplomacy	A.D. 1797	IX	245	15
Taney, Roger B., and the Dred Scott decision	A.D. 1857	XI	347	7 24
Tartuffe, Molière's comedy	A.D. 1604	IV	267	. . .
Tasso, Torquato, his poems	A.D. 1544	X	143	18
Taylor, Zachary, and the battle of Buena Vista	A.D. 1847	IX	265	16
Tecumseh defeated at Tippecanoe	A.D. 1811	XI	310	7 48
Telegraph, origin of the	A.D. 1832	IX	274	17
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, Ode on Duke of Wellington	A.D. 1852	VII	315	21
Teutoburgerwald, battle of	A.D. 9	I	79	1
Texas, annexation of	A.D. 1845	XI	321	7
Tewkesbury, defeat of Margaret of Anjou	A.D. 1471	VII	214	10
Thebes, storming of	B.C. 336	I	18	1
Themistocles at Salamis	B.C. 480	I	236	3
Thermopylæ, battle of the pass	B.C. 480	I	225	2
Thessalonica, massacre at	A.D. 390	IX	55	14
Thiers, L. A., and the Commune of Paris	A.D. 1870	X	193	20
Thomas, Gen. Geo. H., at Chickamauga	A.D. 1863	X	266	19
Thrasymenus, victory of Hannibal on Lake	B.C. 217	V	47	23
Tiberius, Emperor, dominated by Sejanus	A.D. 26	VIII	359	8
Tilden, Samuel, J., exposes Tweed Ring	A.D. 1871	XII	126	25
Titus, speech of, before Jerusalem	A.D. 70	IX	21	12
Torgau, battle of	A.D. 1760	IV	43	4
Tours, battle of	A.D. 732	I	42	1

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authorities Quoted.
Towton, defeat of Lancastrians at	A.D. 1461	VII	214	10
Trafalgar, battle of	A.D. 1805	VI	371	9
Trajan, Emperor, encounters the Christians	A.D. 107	IX	35	13
Trenton, battle of	A.D. 1776	VI	23	7
Trial by jury, and William Penn	A.D. 1670	V	276	5
Triumvirate, the first	B.C. 43	VI	205	8
Tyler, death of Wat	A.D. 1381	VII	188	9
Tyler, John, the Ashburton Treaty concluded	A.D. 1843	XI	321	7
UNION, plea for, by Henry Clay	A.D. 1850	VII	376	10
Union of Scotland with England	A.D. 1707	IX	129	11
United States. See <i>American Revolution</i> ; also Beauregard; Blaine, J. G.; Calhoun, J. C.; Chase, S. P.; Clay, H.; Custer, G.; Davis, J.; Douglas, S. A.; Farragut, D. G.; Garfield, J. A.; Grady, H. W.; Grant, U. S.; Jackson, S.; Johnston, A. S.; Lee, R. E.; Lincoln, A.; McClellan, G. B.; Meade, G. G.; Phillips, W.; Scott, W.; Seward, W. H.; Sheridan, P. H.; Sherman, W. T.; Stephens, A. H.; Sumner, C.; Taylor, Z.; Thomas, G. H.; Webster, D.				
Urban II., Pope, at the council of Clermont	A.D. 1095	IV	103	12
VAN BUREN, Martin, and Currency reform	A.D. 1837	XI	307	15
Vane, Sir Harry, beheaded	A.D. 1662	XI	46	13
Vasa, Gustavus, elected King of Sweden	A.D. 1523	V	199	1
Vespasian becomes Emperor	A.D. 69	IX	6	2
Vesuvius, Pliny's account of its eruption	A.D. 79	I	393	3
Vicksburg, capture of	A.D. 1863	VIII	75	4
Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy	A.D. 1859	IX	329	5
Vienna, siege of	A.D. 1683	IV	242	6
Vinci, Leonardo da, "The Last Supper"	A.D. 1498	X	163	7
Virgil, his poems	B.C. 40	VI	217	8
Virginia, settlement of	A.D. 1607	III	288	9
Vitellius, death of	A.D. 69	IX	6	2
Voltaire visits Frederick the Great	A.D. 1751	XI	150	14

AUTHORITIES QUOTED UNDER T.

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
W AGRAM, campaign of	A.D. 1809	V	328	1
Wallenstein and the Thirty Years' War	A.D. 1621	V	221	2
Walpole, Sir Robert, Minister of Peace	A.D. 1742	IX	140	3
Warbeck, Perkin, suppressed by Henry VII.	A.D. 1497	VII	230	4
Washington, Gen. George, born	A.D. 1732	VI	5	5
Washington, Braddock's defeat	A.D. 1755	VI	15	6
Washington, battle of Trenton	A.D. 1776	VI	23	7
Washington, battle of Princeton	A.D. 1777	VI	30	5
Washington, resigns as commander-in-chief	A.D. 1783	VI	44	8
Washington, letter to the Governors	A.D. 1783	VI	45	8
Washington, formation of the Constitution	A.D. 1786	VI	37	9
Washington, inauguration of, as President	A.D. 1789	VI	46	10
Washington, as commander and President	A.D. 1790	VI	49	11
Washington, his foreign policy	A.D. 1792	VI	55	12
Washington, death of	A.D. 1799	VI	15	•
Washington, Jefferson's estimate of	A.D. 1800	VI	57	13
Washington, poem on, Bryant		VI	58	14
Washington, Chantrey's statue of		VI	59	15
Washington City, capture of	A.D. 1814	VII	338	16
Waterloo, campaign of	A.D. 1815	VII	296	17
Wayne, Gen. A., captures Stony Point	A.D. 1779	I	298	18
Webster, Daniel, his reply to Hayne	A.D. 1830	VII	392	19
Wellington, Duke of, in the Peninsula	A.D. 1803	VII	311	17
Wellington, Duke of, at Waterloo	A.D. 1815	VII	307	20
Wexford, battle of	A.D. 1649	I	140	22
Wet, Christian de, brilliant warfare	A.D. 1901	XII	299	34
Whitney, Eli, invents the cotton gin	A.D. 1785	X	316	23
Wilderness, battle of the	A.D. 1864	VIII	84	24
Wilkes, exploring expedition	A.D. 1839	X	353	33
William I. crowned King of England	A.D. 1066	I	48	25
William III. crowned King of England	A.D. 1689	IX	103	2
William I. proclaimed German Emperor	A.D. 1871	IX	347	21
William II. proclaimed German Emperor	A.D. 1887	X	359	34
William of Orange takes up arms against Philip	A.D. 1568	XI	8	35
Wilmot Proviso, the	A.D. 1846	XI	329	7 16
Winthrop, J., colonizes Massachusetts Bay	A.D. 1630	I	291	26
Wolseley in Egypt, storms Tel-el-Kebir	A.D. 1882	X	374	34
Wolsey, downfall of Cardinal	A.D. 1529	VII	264	27
Wren, Sir Christopher, builds St. Paul's	A.D. 1666	XI	72	23
Wyatt's rebellion	A.D. 1554	I	373	23
X ENOPHON, historian and soldier	B.C. 430	VII	71	28
Xerxes, defeated at Salamis	B.C. 480	I	236	29 30

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EVENTS.	PERIOD.	Vol.	Page	Authori- ties Quoted.
Y ORKTOWN, siege and surrender of	A.D. 1781	VI	136	5
Z AMA, defeat of Hannibal at	B.C. 202	I	388	31
Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra	A.D. 266	VII	103	32

W. Frazer, *Founders of New England*. 27 Brewer, E. C., *History of England*. 28 Xenophon, *Anabasis*; *Hellenica*; *The Symposium*. Thomson, J., *Poems, Liberty*. 29 Gillies, J., *History of Ancient Greece*. 30 Æschylus, *Persæ*, trs. Potter. 31 Merivale, C., *Students' History of Rome*. 32 Porter, J. L., *Five years in Damascus*. 33 Com. Charles Wilkes, *Exploring Expedition*. 34 Contemporary documents. 35 Motley's *Dutch Republic*.

IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ARRANGED BY COUNTRIES.

AMERICA.

For the Authorities Referred to see page 373-374.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
	Pre-historic man and monuments in America	.	.	1
	The American aborigines	.	.	2 1
A.D. 450	Discovery of America by Afghan Buddhists in the Fifth Century (?)	.	.	4 3
870	Greenland seen by Northmen	I	105	4 4
982	Greenland visited by Icelanders	I	105	3 4
983	Greenland colonized by Icelanders	I	105	4 4
1000	Labrador and Newfoundland discovered by Icelanders	I	106	14 3
1007	Vynland (Mass. ?) discovered by Leif Ericson	I	107	4 3
1121	Mission of Eric Upsi, Bishop of Greenland, to the Colony of Vynland, which existed down to 1261	.	.	6 5
1492	Columbus lands (October 14). Discovery of Cuba	II	143	6 5
1493	Second voyage of Columbus; discovery of Jamaica	II	139	6 5
1497	John Cabot discovers the mainland	.	.	8 5
1498	Columbus makes his third voyage	II	140	6 8
	Sebastian Cabot tries for a Northwest passage to China	.	.	3 8
1499	Ojeda and Vespucci sail round the Northern coast of South America	.	.	7 6 5
1500	Vicente Yanez Pinzon discovers coast of Brazil. Cabral possesses it for Portugal	.	.	3
1501	Columbus sent in chains to Spain by Governor of Hispaniola (Hayti)	II	140	6 6
1502	Columbus starts on his fourth voyage	II	141	6 6
1506	Death of Columbus, May 20	II	141	6 5
1512	Ponce de Leon lands in Florida	V	295	7 10
1513	Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean from the Isthmus of Panama	X	72	10 11
1519	Cortez enters Mexico	II	180	10 11
1521	Cortez conquers Mexico	II	182	10 11
1531-33	Conquest of Peru by Pizarro	II	163	10 11
1536	Jacques Cartier ascends the St. Lawrence	III	182	9 5
1541	Ferdinand de Soto discovers the Mississippi	I	74	3 10
1545	Spaniards discover silver mines of Potosi	.	.	9 5
1564	Huguenots settle on St. John's River, Florida	.	.	10 5
1565	Huguenots massacred by Spaniards	.	.	10 5
	Foundation of St. Augustine by Spaniards	I	274	5 12
1583	Humphrey Gilbert claims Newfoundland for Queen Elizabeth	.	.	12 13
1584	Raleigh's expedition to North Carolina. Virginia named for Queen Elizabeth	I	63	12 13
1585	Raleigh's expedition fails to settle on Roanoke Island	I	63	12 13
1602	Bartholomew Gosnold tries to form a settlement on coast of Massachusetts	III	290	18 20
1606	King James grants patent to London and Plymouth Companies	IX	89	17 13
1607	Jamestown founded by the London Company	III	288	13 13
	Captain John Smith and Pocahontas	III	290	13 18
1609	Lord Delaware, Governor of re-organized London Company	.	.	13 18

AMERICA (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1609	Samuel Champlain discovers the lake he named	I	167	9
	Henrik Hudson ascends the Hudson	I	152	5 22
1610	Henrik Hudson explores Hudson's Bay	I	151	14
1615	The Dutch build Fort Orange (Albany)			18
1619	Colonial Assembly, the first representative assembly of British Colonists, at Jamestown, Va.	III	292	13
1620	Negro Slavery introduced into Virginia			5
	Pilgrim Fathers land at Plymouth (December 11, New Style December 21)	II	338	20 5
1621	The Virginia Colony secures representative government			13
	Cotton culture introduced into Virginia			5
1623	Dutch West India Company takes possession of New Netherland. Indian massacre in Virginia	II	367	22
	Settlement of New Hampshire at Rye			16
1624	Dissolution of London Company. Virginia placed under the Crown			5
1626	The Dutch buy Manhattan Island from the Indians for about \$24			22
1628	Salem settled by the Massachusetts Bay Company	I	291	18 21
1630	John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts	I	288	20
	Boston founded	I	288	20 21
1631	William Clayborne settles at Kent Island, Maryland	II	361	23
1632	Cecilus Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, receives charter for Maryland	II	362	23
	Canada restored to France by England	I	166	14
1634	Settlement of St. Mary's, Md., by Leonard Calvert	II	364	23
1636	Connecticut settled by the English			24
	Roger Williams settles at Providence, R. I.	II	346	20
1637	The Pequot rising suppressed by English colonists			16
1638	William Coddington forms a settlement on the island of Aquidneck, R. I. Harvard College founded. Swedes and Finns settle in Delaware			18 21
1639	Connecticut adopts a Constitution			24 20
1643	Confederation of New England colonies, May 29			21
1644	Roger Williams gets patent from Parliament for Rhode Island	II	348	16
1655	Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General of New Netherland	II	367	18
	Dispossesses Swede settlers at the mouth of the Delaware	II	368	18
1662	Connecticut and New Haven colonies receive Charter from Charles II.			24
1663	Colonists settle in Carolina			18
1664	Charles II. grants the territory between the Connecticut River and Delaware River to his brother James, Duke of York. The English take possession of New Amsterdam and New Netherland, naming them New York	II	369	21
1668	Mission of Sault Ste. Marie founded by Father Marquette	I	277	18
1669	Fundamental Constitution for Carolina drawn up by Locke			5
1670	Hudson Bay Company incorporated			5
1676	Death of Philip of Pokanoket	V	302	16
1674	The Dutch restore New York and New Jersey to English			22 18
1681	William Penn obtains patent from King James	V	260	25
1682	William Penn buys East Jersey, possesses New Castle, Del., and surrounding territory	V	265	25
	Penn founds colony of Pennsylvania	V	263	18 20
1684	Charter of Massachusetts Company forfeited			18
1686	Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New England			16
1689	Sir Edmund Andros overthrown. Beginning of King William's War in America. (Ended by Peace of Ryswick, 1697)			21

AMERICA (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1690	Schenectady destroyed by French and Indians. Sir William Phips fails in his expedition against Canada			5
1692	Massachusetts and Plymouth colonists unite			14
	Witchcraft trials at Salem		19	20
1699	Settlement of Louisiana begun by French			5
1712	They claim the whole Mississippi Valley			9
1713	Division of territory between France and England under the Treaty of Utrecht			5
1733	Settlement of Georgia by General Oglethorpe	II	353	5
1754	French and Indian War			18 40 5
	Colonial Congress at Albany. Franklin's proposals for union	I	349	26 41 5
1755	Braddock's defeat, July 9	VI	15	31
1758	Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburg) taken by the English, November 25	VI	8	31
1760	Beginning of trouble with England	VIII	348	21
1763	Canada, Newfoundland, Louisiana, and Florida ceded to England by France and Spain			14 3
1764	Imposition of taxes by England			5 18
1765	The Stamp Act, March 8. The Colonies protest	III	348	5 32 28
1766	Franklin appears before the House of Commons	I	350	16 29
1768	British troops quartered in Boston	IV	342	5 30
	The Stamp Act repealed, March 18			16 21 32
1770	The Boston Massacre, March 5			16 21 32
1773	The Boston Tea-party, December 16			5 32
1774	First Continental Congress, Philadelphia, September 5	VI	61	5 33 29
	Daniel Boone builds a fort at Louisville	XI	258	15
1775	The Revolution. Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17	I	172	5
	Washington takes command, July 2	VI	8	31
	Burke's speech on American Love of Freedom	IX	229	29
1776	Formation of the Navy. Paul Jones	VI	117	30 32
	Declaration of Independence, July 4	IV	348	5 33 32
	Victories at Trenton (Dec. 26) and Princeton (Jan 1, 1777)	VI	24	21
1777	Philadelphia, Brandywine (Sept. 11), Valley Forge	VI	10	31 5
	Lafayette joins Washington	VI	84	34
	Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga (Oct. 17)	VI	70	5 3
1779	Wayne captures Stony Point, July 15	I	298	5 21
	Paul Jones's victory, September 23	VI	120	5 54
1780	Rochambeau arrives with French forces	VI	133	5 31
1781	Articles of Confederation adopted			39
	General Greene's campaign in the South	I	181	3
	Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15	I	183	5 21
	Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, October 19	VI	146	5 21
1782	Peace negotiations opened	IV	357	38
1783	British evacuate New York, November 25	VI	11	5 41
1784	The first daily newspaper, the <i>American Daily Advertiser</i> , published in Philadelphia			42
1787	Framing the Constitution, adopted September 17	IV	366	39 35
	First steamboat made by John Fitch	II	375	
1789	Washington elected first President	VI	13	38 31 36
1790	First Census, population of United States, 3,929,827			36
1791	City of Washington founded			
1793	Fugitive slave law introduced			5 36 44
1794	Jay's Treaty with England, ratified June 24	IV	359	82 33
1796	Washington's Farewell Address	VI	14	31
	John Adams elected President	IV	347	32
1800	Capital removed to Washington. Thomas Jefferson elected President	IV	383	32 3

AMERICA (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1800	Second Census, population 5,305,937	. . .	. . .	. . .
	John Marshall appointed Chief Justice	XI	244	32
1801	Albert Gallatin's financial measures	XI	250	36
1804	Decatur recaptures the Philadelphia	XI	269	35
	Jefferson re-elected President	. . .	. . .	33
	Alexander Hamilton killed in a duel by Aaron Burr	IV	373	32
1806	Aaron Burr's expedition and trial	VII	330	35 36
	Discovery of Pike's Peak	X	330	35
1807	Abolition of slave trade	. . .	. . .	43 44
	The Chesapeake attacked by the Leopard, June 22	IV	388	35
	Embargo on American ships	IV	384	35
	Fulton's steamboat ascends the Hudson	II	385	. . .
1808	James Madison elected President	VII	336	43
1810	Third Census, population 7,215,791	. . .	. . .	. . .
1811	General Harrison defeats Tecumseh	XI	310	35
1812	War declared against England	VII	337	33 36
	Madison re-elected President	VII	336	. . .
1813	Gen. Andrew Jackson's campaign	VII	361	43 36
	The Chesapeake-Shannon fight	XI	262	35
	Commodore Perry defeats British fleet on Lake Erie	XI	278	35
1814	Com. David Porter in the Essex	XI	292	35
	Capture of Washington by British, August 24	VII	337	35
	Treaty of Peace at Ghent, December 24	VII	351	36
1815	Jackson's victory at New Orleans, January 8	VII	361	35
1816	James Monroe elected President	VII	345	43
1820	James Monroe re-elected President	VII	345	36
	Fourth Census, population of United States 9,638,191	. . .	. . .	. . .
1823	The Monroe Doctrine stated	VII	351	33 35
1824	John Quincy Adams elected President	VII	351	43
	Lafayette receives a national gift	VI	87	34
1828	Andrew Jackson elected President	VII	363	43 33
1830	Fifth Census, population of United States 12,866,020	. . .	. . .	. . .
	Death of Bolivar, liberator of Spanish American republics	IX	399	56
1831	The first steam railroad opened in South Carolina	. . .	. . .	. . .
1832	Andrew Jackson re-elected President	VII	364	35 43
	Black Hawk War	VIII	7	35
	Morse originates the telegraph	IX	270	. . .
1834	The Whig Party formed	VII	391	33 35
1836	Martin Van Buren elected President	. . .	. . .	. . .
	Sam Houston defeats Santa Anna	XI	296	44 45
1837	Martin Van Buren and Currency Reform	XI	307	43
1839	The Wilkes Exploring Expedition	X	353	5 35
1840	Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign	XI	312	35
	William Henry Harrison elected President	. . .	. . .	36
	Sixth Census, population of United States 17,069,453	. . .	. . .	. . .
1841	John Tyler succeeds Harrison, April 6	VII	391	33
	Horace Greeley founds the New York <i>Tribune</i>	XI	379	42
1842	Defence of the Right of Petition	VII	353	37
	Lewis Cass and the Quintuple Treaty	XI	363	43
	Fremont's Expedition to the Pacific Coast	X	336	15
1843	The Ashburton Treaty concluded	XI	321	33
1844	John C. Calhoun made Secretary of State	XI	323	35
	James K. Polk elected President	VII	382	36
1845	Texas annexed and admitted to the Union, December 27	VII	382	33
	Commodore Stockton seizes Monterey, Cal.	X	333	35 57
1846	The Wilmot Proviso	XI	329	44

AMERICA (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1846	War declared against Mexico, May 11	IX	267	33 44 55
1847	Gen. Zachary Taylor victor at Buena Vista, February 23	IX	256	37 45
	Gen. Winfield Scott captures Mexico, September 14	XI	342	44
	Thomas H. Benton opposes Nullification	IX	267	58
1848	Gold discovered in California, February 2	VII	392	44
	Zachary Taylor elected President	VII	374	37
1850	Millard Fillmore succeeds Taylor, July 9	VIII	48	33 43
	Clay's Slavery Compromise	VIII	48	33 35
	Seward asserts the "higher law"			
	California admitted to the Union, September 9			
	Seventh Census, population of United States 23,191,876			
1852	Franklin Pierce elected President			43
1854	Commodore Perry's Treaty with Japan, March			33
	Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed, May	IX	278	33
	The Ostend Manifesto	XI	337	36 37
1856	James Buchanan elected President	IX	279	57
	John Brown at Osawatomie	X	322	44
1857	Judge Taney gives the Dred Scott decision	XI	347	57
	James Buchanan sends army against Mormons	XI	357	57
1859	John Brown executed at Harper's Ferry, December 2			57 37
1860	Abraham Lincoln elected President	VIII	12	46
	Secession of South Carolina, December 20	X	270	57 33
	Eighth Census, population of United States 31,443,322	X	270	
1861	Jefferson Davis elected President of Confederacy, February 4	X		46 37
	William H. Seward, Secretary of State	VIII	50	47 44
	Bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12	VIII	197	49
	Battle of Bull Run, July 21			49
	Mason and Slidell taken from the Trent	X	356	47
1862	Edwin M. Stanton made Secretary of War by Lincoln	XII	103	46
	General Butler at New Orleans	XII	112	47
	Battle of Mill Springs, Ky., January 19	X	266	49 50
	General Grant captures Forts Henry and Donelson, February 22	VIII	59	47
	Battle of the Monitor and Merrimac, March 8	X	228	
	Battle of Shiloh, April 6, 7	VIII	60	47
	Farragut captures New Orleans, April 25	VIII	206	47
	McClellan's peninsula campaign, April-July			49 50
	Stonewall Jackson's Shenandoah Valley campaign	VIII	171	47
	Seven Days' Battles, June 25-July 1	X	258	49 50
	Second Battle of Bull Run, August 29	VIII	172	48 49
	Battle of Antietam, Md., September 17	X	262	48 49 50
	Battle of Fredericksburg, Va., December 13	X	262	48 49
	Sherman's failure at Vicksburg, December 29	VIII	108	47
	Battle of Stone River, Tennessee, December 31	X	266	49 50
1863	Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1	VIII	39	51 46 37
	Battle of Chancellorsville, Va., May 2, 3	VIII	174	49
	Grant's capture of Vicksburg, July 4	VIII	75	47
	Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3	VIII	144	47 46
	Charles Sumner on Abolition of Slavery in District of Columbia	IX	289	51 52
	David D. Porter's fleet at siege of Vicksburg	XI	375	49 54
	Henry Ward Beecher's mission to England	X	346	51
	Battle of Chickamauga, Ga., September 19, 20	X	266	49 50
	Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg, November 19	VIII	36	59 52
1864	General Grant, Commander-in-Chief of the army, March 3	VIII	61	47 50
	Sheridan's raid in Virginia	VIII	129	50 47
	Battle of Wilderness, May 5, 6	VIII	86	49
	Battle of Cold Harbor, Va., June 3	VIII	62	49

AMERICA (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1864	Battles before Atlanta, July 20-28	VIII	112	49 50
	Farragut's Battle of Mobile Bay, August 5	VIII	206	47
	Mine explosion at Petersburg, Va., July 30			49 50
	Atlanta captured, September 2	VIII	120	49 50
	Sherman's march through Georgia, November 16-December 22	VIII	110	50 47
	Battle of Nashville, December 15, 16	X	267	50
	Abraham Lincoln re-elected President	VIII	19	46 47
	Capture of Fort Fisher	XI	376	54
1865	Hampton Roads Peace Conference, February 3			57 59
	Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address	VIII	37	46 31
	Battle of Five Forks, Va., April 1	VIII	130	50
	Surrender of Lee at Appomattox, April 9	VIII	62	47 48
	Assassination of President Lincoln, April 14	VIII	20	46 47
	Jefferson Davis captured, May 11	X	271	48
	Andrew Johnson succeeds to the Presidency			51 52
	Abolition of slavery by Fourteenth Amendment			44 47
1866	Ku Klux Klan outrages			44 52
1868	Thaddeus Stevens moves to impeach President Johnson	XII	84	51 52
	Impeachment of President Johnson	IX	295	52 45
	General U. S. Grant elected President	VIII	63	47 51 52
1869	The Fifteenth Amendment adopted	VIII	64	44 52
1870	Ninth Census, population of United States 38,558,371			
1871	Samuel J. Tilden exposes the Tweed Ring	XII	126	60
1872	Treaty of Washington and the Geneva Award	VIII	64	52 57
	Great fire in Chicago, July			
	General Grant re-elected President	VIII	65	52 57
	Great fire in Boston			
1876	Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, May 10-November 10	VIII	65	
	Massacre of General Custer by Sitting Bull, June 25	X	252	
	Rutherford B. Hayes elected President			57
	Gen. Nelson A. Miles defeats Sitting Bull	XII	281	60
1877	Electoral Commission of fifteen decide doubtful Presidential vote, January 15-March 2	VIII	66	52
1878	Alexander H. Stephens' plea for liberty and union	IX	304	
1879	Specie payments resumed			52
	Jeannette Arctic expedition	X	119	
1880	General James A. Garfield elected President	X	238	52 5
	Tenth Census, population of United States 50,155,783			
1881	Assassination of President Garfield, July 2	X	238	51
	Chester A. Arthur succeeds to the Presidency			
1884	Grover Cleveland elected President			53
1885	Grover Cleveland's attitude towards Pensions	XII	141	60
1888	General Benjamin Harrison elected President	X	246	53
	James G. Blaine appointed Secretary of State	X	246	
1890	Eleventh Census, population of United States, 62,622,250			
	William McKinley, author of the Tariff Bill	XII	186	60
1891	The Mafia affair at New Orleans	XII	175	60
1892	Grover Cleveland re-elected President			
1893	Columbian World's Fair at Chicago			
	Thomas F. Bayard, Minister to Great Britain	XII	160	60
1898	The Spanish-American War	XII	202	60
	Destruction of the Maine at Havana	XII	205	60
	Commodore Dewey destroys Spanish fleet	XII	234	60
	Battle of Cardenas, May 11	XII	215	60
	Memorable cruise of the battleship Oregon	XII	271	60
	Lieutenant Hobson's daring feat at Santiago	XII	268	60

AMERICA (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1898	Capt. A. T. Mahan's naval strategy	XII	179	60
	Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders at Santiago	XII	279	60
	Rear Admiral Sampson blockades Cuba	XII	251	60
	Rear Admiral Schley before Santiago	XII	256	60
	Destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet	XII	220	60
1899	The war in the Philippines	XII	227	...
	Admiral Dewey's return to the United States. His Marriage	XII	...	...
1901	Assassination of President McKinley	XII	191	...
1902	Theodore Roosevelt becomes President	XII	282	...
	Visit of Prince Henry of Prussia	XII	283	...
	Amnesty proclamation in the Philippines	XII	227	...
	United States withdraws from Cuba.	XII	227	...
	Accident of President Roosevelt	XII	283	...

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AMERICA (Continued).

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CANADA.

For the Authorities Referred to see below.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
1534	Jacques Cartier takes possession for France	III	181	1 2
1603	Unsuccessful French colonization			1 4
	Champlain explores the St. Lawrence	I	164	1
1608	Settlement of Quebec	I	165	4
1626	Company of the 100 Associates formed			4
1629	Canada (New France) captured by the English	I	166	5
1673	Marquette discovers the Mississippi	I	279	1 4
1690	King William's War. Port Royal taken by English			6
1702	Queen Anne's War. English conquest of Acadia			6 7
1713	Nova Scotia acquired by the English			6 9
1744	King George's War. Louisbourg lost and won			6
1755	Battle of Lake George. Dispersion of the French Acadians			1 4
1756	French and Indian War. French successes under Montcalm at Oswego and Fort Henry	III	339	8
1758	Defeat of English at Ticonderoga			3 9
1759	Fall of Quebec, Sept. 13. Death of Wolfe and Montcalm	III	342	8 4
1760	English conquest of Canada			5 4 3
1763	Canada ceded to England by treaty of Paris			4 9
1774	The Quebec act, establishing the province			4 7 11
1775	American colonists invade Canada	VII	327	7 4
1783	Boundaries settled in the treaty of peace			7 3
1784	The loyalist Americans settle in Upper Canada			7 9
1820	The family compact			9 10
1837	W. L. Mackenzie's rebellion			9
1840	Union of Upper and Lower Canada			10 11
1866	Fenian invasions			11 9
1867	Federation of the provinces in the Dominion			11 10
1869-1873	Inclusion of Hudson's Bay Territory, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward's Island			10 11
1877	The Halifax Fisheries Award			12
1885	Termination of the Fisheries Treaty by U. S.			
1888	New Treaty negotiated, but rejected by U. S. Senate			12
1870	Riel's rebellion suppressed by Sir G. Wolseley			9
1885	Riel's second rebellion. Riel executed Nov. 16.			10

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ENGLAND.

For the Authorities Referred to see Pages 391-393.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 55	Cæsar invades Britain	III	16	7 2 1
A.D. 43	The conquests by Claudius	IX	5	3 5
78-84	Campaigns of Agricola	IX	7	6 5 15
100	Christianity introduced			51 7
181	British church on the site of Canterbury Cathedral			51 24
	Also at Chester and Winchester			27 29
208	Emperor Severus wars against the invading Caledonians			5 37
288	Carausius and Allectus rule			7
306	London rebuilt by the Romans		52	7
325	Erborius, bishop of York			
367-370	The Picts and Scots driven back by Theodosius			5
407	The usurpation of Constantine			
448	The Romans finally quitted Britain		29	15
457	The heptarchy			26
477	Founding of the Saxon kingdoms			1 4 25
547	Founding of the Angles' kingdoms			1
597	St. Augustine arrives in England	III	187	51 7
758	Offa, king of Mercia. St. Alban's Abbey founded			4
802	Egbert, first king of all England		7	15
871	Alfred the Great crowned	I	260	48 16 1
958	The Witenagemot gains power			7 28
1017	Reign of the Danish king Canute	III	129	26 4
1053	William the Conqueror marries Matilda of Flanders	II	286	4 58
1066	Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14. The Norman conquest	I	49	4 65
1086	Domesday survey completed	I	49	4 1
1100	Death of William Rufus	III	146	8 16
	Henry I. marries Maud of England	IV	146	38
1154	Henry II. crowned	III	195	54
1170	Henry II. invades Ireland. Murder of Becket	III	197	28 43
1191	Crusade of Richard I.	IV	153	16 38
1215	Magna Charta granted by King John	V	242	28 17
1265	First representative parliament. The barons' war	VI	264	28
	Roger Bacon supplies gunpowder	X	158	
	Simon de Montfort slain at Evesham, Aug. 4	VI	269	40 26
1278	The first act of Parliament, reign of Edward I.	VI	273	28 55
1282	Subjugation of Wales	VI	274	11
1298	Conquest of Scotland, Wallace at Stirling	VI	288	9 55
1314	Bruce defeats the English at Bannockburn, June 24	VI	297	9
1346	French defeated at Cressy by Edward III. Aug. 26	I	56	68 17
1356	French defeated at Poitiers by Edward III. Sept. 19	I	58	38 68
1381	Richard II., Wat Tyler's rebellion	VII	188	17
1384	Wiclif and the Lollards			46
1405	Henry IV. at the battle of Shrewsbury, July	VII	196	40
1415	Henry V. at the battle of Agincourt, Oct. 25	VII	207	40
1431	Joan of Arc burnt, May 30	VII	29	38 40
1447	Nicholas V., Pope, founds the University of Glasgow	XI	225	17 38
1455	Wars of the Roses commence	VII	213	14 38
1461	Accession of Edward IV.			17 66
1471	Caxton sets up his printing-press	V	392	14 38
1483	Accession of Richard III. Battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22	VII	222	66

ENGLAND (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1485	Accession of Henry VII.	VII	228	56 73
1509	Accession of Henry VIII.	VII	237	41 18
1529	Fall of Wolsey	VII	264	41 57
1533	Divorce of Katharine of Aragon	VII	253	57
1536	Execution of Anne Boleyn, May 19	VII	355	41 38
1553	Accession of Queen Mary	III	250	41
1554	Execution of Lady Jane Grey, Feb. 12	I	372	41 38
1556	Archbishop Cranmer burnt at Oxford, March 21	III	252	18
1558	Calais taken from the English	..	..	38 40
	Accession of Queen Elizabeth, Nov. 17	VIII	222	58 41
1564	Shakespeare born	III	258	38
1569	Raleigh fights with the Huguenots at Jarnac	V	148	47
1580	Drake's voyage to Florida	I	274	40
1586	Sir Philip Sidney killed, battle of Zutphen	VIII	244	45
1587	Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, Feb. 8	I	239	43 41
1588	Spanish Armada defeated	II	270	41 40 65
1598	Death of Philip II.	III	239	38
1600	East India Company first chartered	..	..	40
1603	Union of English and Scottish crowns	IX	87	9
1605	The gunpowder plot discovered, Nov. 5	IX	92	37 38
1606	James I. grants charter to Virginia	IX	290	41
1611	Authorized version of the Bible published	..	..	38 40
1620	Sailing of Pilgrim Fathers	II	338	40 12 12
	Lord Bacon sent to the Tower	X	19	40
1624	George Fox founds sect of the Quakers	XI	69	41
1640	The Long Parliament assembles	I	138	28 38
1641	Pym impeaches Strafford in the Commons	XI	32	41
	First English Newspaper issued	XI	71	38
1642	Roundheads and Cavaliers. Battle of Edgehill	I	138	40 19
1644	Cromwell at Marston Moor, July 2	I	139	40 49 59
1645	Battle of Naseby, June 14	I	142	38 78
1649	Execution of Charles I, Jan. 30. England a commonwealth	I	140	40 42
1658	Alliance with France. Siege of Dunkirk	V	182	40 43
1660	Restoration of Charles II.	..	..	28 38
1662	Execution of Sir Harry Vane	XI	46	41
1664	The American Colonies brought under crown	..	..	See America
1665	Plague in London	..	..	38 40
1666	Great Fire of London, September	..	..	38 40
	Sir Christopher Wren builds St. Paul's Cathedral	XI	71	4
1670	William Penn's trial by Jury	V	267	
1678	Titus Oates and the Popish Plot	XI	52	38 41
1679	Passing of the Habeas Corpus Act	..	..	28 20
1680	Division into Whigs and Tories	..	..	38 39
	Claverhouse persecutes the Covenanters	XI	74	32
1685	Accession of James II. Sir I. Newton's <i>Principia</i>	X	34	39
	Monmouth's defeat at Sedgemoor	XI	61	39
1688	The Revolution. William III. lands at Torbay, November 4	IX	99	43 38 74
1689	Reign of William and Mary	IX	99	60 39
1690	Battle of the Boyne	XI	63	39
1702	Accession of Queen Anne. Marlborough's campaigns	IX	127	50 38 33
1704	Battle of Blenheim, Aug. 13'	IX	115	38
1707	Union with Scotland	IX	129	9 37 28
1714	Death of Anne. Accession of George I.	..	..	61 75
1715	Jacobite rising. Defeated at Preston	..	..	9 69
	James Edward the old Pretender defeated	XI	84	69 75
1720	South Sea bubble	IX	138	38

ENGLAND (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1727	Accession of George II.	IX	139	43
1733	Growth of the cotton weaving industry	III	377	43
1743	Founding of the British empire in India by Clive	VIII	317	See India
1746	Battle of Culloden, April 16. Pretender defeated	IX	37	38
1756	The Seven Years' War	IX	183	69 38
1760	Accession of George III.	IX	202	38
1761	Chatham's administration. The war in America	VIII	346	62 21 43
1776	Revolt of the American Colonies. (See CANADA and AMERICA)	IX	223	69 38
	Gibbon issues his work on the Roman Empire	XI	178	69
1783	Peace with America. Treaty of Paris	VI	11	13 12
1788	Trial of Warren Hastings	VIII	336	69
1796	Abercromby quells rebellion in Ireland	XI	184	10
1798	Nelson's victory on the Nile, Aug. 1.	VI	369	44 38
	Pitt's coalition against France	IX	213	63 78
1800	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland formed		69	38
1814	Wellington's victories in the Peninsula	VII	311	38
1815	Napoleon crushed at Waterloo, June 18	II	61	65
1832	First reform bill	X	204	22 76 43
1837	Accession of Queen Victoria, June 20			22 70
1840	Penny postage adopted		43	70
1843	John Bright, Apostle of Reform	XI	213	76
1845	Sir J. Franklin's Arctic exploration	X	114	79
1846	Sir Robert Peel and the Corn Law repeal	XI	198	70
	Richard Cobden inaugurates free trade	XI	206	76
1848	Lord Macaulay issues his History of England	XI	222	22 39
1854	Crimean War (1854-1856)	IX	312	43 70
	Sebastopol, capture of, September	X	283	43 70
1875	England acquires control of the Suez Canal	IX	374	43 70
1877	Annexation of the Transvaal			70
1881	Death of Lord Beaconsfield	X	219	81
	Charles Parnell imprisoned for treason	XI	239	70
1882	General Wolseley storms Tel-el-Kebir	X	374	77
	War in Egypt, Alexandria bombarded			77
1885	Soudan campaign, death of General Gordon	IX	387	77
	Lord Salisbury first made Premier	XII	311	76
1894	Gladstone retires from public life	X	210	70
1895	Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for Colonies	XII	306	82
	Jameson's raid into the Transvaal	X	381	82
1898	General Kitchener captures Khartoum	X	390	82
1899	Outbreak of Boer War	XII	297	82
	Siege of Ladysmith	XII	298	82
1900	Roberts takes command in South Africa	X	377	82
	Pretoria taken	XII	299	82
1901	Roberts succeeds Wolseley as Commander-in-chief	X	377	82
	Death of Queen Victoria	XII	318	82
	Accession of Edward VII	XII	319	82
	Kitchener commands in South Africa	X	393	82
1902	Illness of King Edward	XII	320	82
	Death of Cecil Rhodes	X	383	82
	Peace in South Africa	XII	300	82
	Return of Kitchener	X	393	82
	Coronation of Edward VII	XII	320	82
	Retirement of Salisbury	XII	312	82
	Boer leaders in England	XII	300	82

ENGLAND (Continued).

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8. JEWETT, S. O., *The Normans.* (Story of Nations.)
9. MACKINTOSH, J., *Scotland.* (Story of Nations.)
10. LAWLESS, EMILY, *Ireland.* (Story of Nations.)
11. EDWARDS, O. M., *Wales.* (Story of Nations.)
12. SMITH, HELEN A., *The Thirteen Colonies.* (Story of Nations.)
13. MACFARLANE, A. R., *Canada.* (Story of Nations.)
14. JESSOPP, A., *England, 1067-1603.* (Story of Nations.)
15. POWELL, F. YORKE, *Early England.* (Epochs of Eng. Hist.)
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26. PEARSON, C. W., *England During Early and Middle Ages.*
27. RHYS, J., *Celtic Britain.*
28. STUBBS, W., *Constitutional History of England.*
STUBBS, W., *The Early Plantagenets.*
29. WRIGHT, T., *Celt, Roman, and Saxon.*
30. GOSSE, E. W., *Raleigh.* (English Worthies.)
31. HANWAY, D., *Blake.* (English Worthies.)
32. MORRIS, M., *Claverhouse.* (English Worthies.)
33. SAINTSBURY, G., *Marlborough.* (English Worthies.)
34. TRAILL, H. D., *Shaftsbury.* (English Worthies.)
35. HILL, F. H., *Canning.* (English Worthies.)
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FROUDE, J. A., *History of England, 1603-1642.*
FROUDE, J. A., *History of Great Civil War, 1642-1649.*
FROUDE, J. A., *History of Commonwealth and Protectorate.*
FROUDE, J. A., *England, from Wolsey to Elizabeth.*
42. FORSTER, J., *Statesmen of the Commonwealth.*
43. BRIGHT, J. F., *History of England.*
44. RUSSELL, W. C., *Nelson.* (Heroes of Nations.)
45. FOX-BOURNE, H. R., *Sir Philip Sidney.* (Heroes of Nations.)
46. SERGEANT, L., *Wiclif.* (Heroes of Nations.)
47. SMITH, A. L., *Raleigh.* (Heroes of Nations.)
48. POWELL, F. Y., *Alfred the Great.* (Heroes of Nations.)
49. FIRTH, C., *Cromwell.* (Heroes of Nations.)
50. OMAN, C. W. C., *Marlborough.* (Heroes of Nations.)
51. MOELLER, W., *History of the Christian Church.*
PLUMMER, A., *Church of the Early Fathers.*
52. LORTIE, W. J., *London.*
53. FREEMAN, E. A., *William the Conqueror.* (Twelve English Statesmen.)
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55. TOUT, T. F., *Edward I.* (Twelve English Statesmen.)

ENGLAND (Continued).

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO (CONTINUED).

56. GAIRDNER, J., **Henry VII.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
57. CREIGHTON, M., **Wolsey.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
58. BEESLY, E. S., **Queen Elizabeth.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
59. HARRISON, F., **Cromwell.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
60. TRAILL, H. D., **William III.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
61. MORLEY, J., **Walpole.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
62. MORLEY, J., **Chatham.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
63. ROSEBERRY, LORD, **Pitt.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
64. THURSFIELD, J. R., **Peel.** (Twelve English Statesmen.)
65. CREASY, E. S., **Fifteen Decisive Battles.**
66. GAIRDNER, J., **Life and Reign of Richard III.**
GAIRDNER, J., **Houses of Lancaster and York.** (Epochs of History.)
67. CREIGHTON, M., **The Age of Elizabeth.** (Epochs of History.)
68. WARBURTON, W., **Edward III.** (Epochs of History.)
ASHLEY, W. J., **Edward III. and his Wars.**
69. LECKY, W. E. H., **History of England in the 18th Century.**
70. MCCARTHY, J., **History of our own Times.**
71. AIRY, O., **The English Restoration and Louis XIV.**
72. JACOBS, J., **The Jews in Mediæval England.**
HOSMER, J. K., **The Jews.** (Story of Nations.)
73. MOBERLY, C. E., **Early Tudors.** (Epochs of Modern History.)
74. HALE, E. E., **Fall of the Stuarts.** (Epochs of Modern History.)
75. MORRIS, E. E., **The Age of Anne.** (Epochs of Modern History.)
76. MCCARTHY, J., **Epoch of Reform.** (Epochs of Modern History.)
77. ROYLE, C., **The Egyptian Campaigns, 1882-85.**
HAKE, A. E., **Life of General Gordon.**
78. SMITH, GOLDWIN, **Three English Statesmen.**
79. BEESLEY, A. H., **Sir John Franklin.** (New Plutarch.)
80. LAWSON, C., **Private Life of Warren Hastings.**
81. BREWSTER, F. C., **Disraeli in Outline.**
82. Contemporary documents.

FRANCE.

For the Authorities Referred to see Pages 396-397.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 125	Roman invasion of Gaul	III	9	1
58-51	Cæsar's conquests	III	9	4 2
A.D. 200	Christianity introduced	III	9	1 9 7
410	The Visigoths rule Toulouse	III	175	5
420	Frankish invasion and conquest	III	175	8 9 6
451	Attila's invasion	III	175	9
480-800	Rule of the Franks (see GERMANY)	I	39	3 6
800	Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the West	V	8	9 13
804	Alcuin, Abbot of Tours	V	27	7 12
954	Origin of the House of Capet	I	379	11
987	Hugh Capet crowned. Rise of Feudalism	I	379	10 12
1096	Peter the Hermit and the First Crusade	IV	110	7 14
1099	Godfrey of Bouillon captures Jerusalem	IV	123	14 12
1106	Death of Pope Urban II.	IV	105	9 19
1106	War with Henry I. of England	IV	147	15 12
1118	Bernard of Clairvaux and the Knights Templars	V	122	12
1120	Abelard and Heloise	V	112	7 11
1154	Henry II. of England succeeds to English Throne and unites Western France with England	III	195	9
1180	Philip Augustus recovers territory from Flanders and England	V	240	9 15
1202-05	Normandy won from King John	VI	267	9
1208	Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, born in France	V	242	12
1216	Louis VIII. lands in England	I	361	14
1226-70	Louis IX. (Saint Louis) reigns	I	363	14
1249	Crusade of Louis IX.	I	55	9 11
1337	Edward III. of England assumes the title King of France	I	56	9 11
1346	Battle of Crecy	I	58	9 11
1356	Battle of Poitiers	VI	305	8 11
1356-58	Marcel and the States-General	IV	212	11 16
1358	The Jacquerie Rising	IV	194	9 9
1367	Du Guesclin defeated at Navaretta	IV	205	9 19
1415	Peter the Cruel	VII	207	9
1431	Henry of Trastamare	VII	29	17 19
1461-68	Hundred years' war renewed. Battle of Agincourt	II	128	9 11
1476	Joan of Arc burnt at the stake	I	129	11 18
1476	Reign of Louis XI.	I	10	11
1491	Chevalier Bayard born	IV	392	9
1510	Charles the Bold invades Switzerland	VII	237	9 11
1513	End of Feudal System	II	115	21
1513	Palissy the Potter, born in Perigord	IX	145	9
1525	Defeat and capture of Francis I. by Charles V. at Pavia, Feb. 25	III	181	11
1534	English invasion under Henry VIII.	X	168	20 9
1534-72	Accession of Francis I.	V	144	20
1565	Defeat and capture of Francis I. by Charles V. at Pavia, Feb. 25	III	155	20 11
1572	Jacques Cartier discovers Canada (see CANADA)	III	157	20 22
1585	Persecution of Huguenots	III	157	20 22
1598	Ambrose Paré the father of modern surgery	III	157	20 22
	Failure of Huguenot Colonies in America	III	157	20 22
	Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24	III	157	20 22
	Henry of Navarre. War of the League	III	157	20 22
	Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, April 30	III	157	20 22

FRANCE (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1604	Champlain explores the St. Lawrence (see CANADA)	I	164	11
1610	Assassination of Henry IV., May 14	III	158	9 20
	The Regency of Marie de Medici	VII	271	24
1624	Cardinal Richelieu in power	V	127	9 11
	Huguenots in revolt			20
1628	La Rochelle taken by Richelieu, Oct. 28	V	128	9 21
1642	Cardinal Mazarin in power	V	157	11 21
1643	Condé's victory at Rocroi	V	170	11 8
	Accession of Louis XIV.	II	294	25
1658	Siege of Dunkirk	V	182	25
1669	Secret Treaty with Charles II. of England	II	297	25 9
1685	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Oct. 28	II	329	9 11 20
1698	Colonization of Louisiana			11
1715	Death of Louis XIV., Aug. 31	II	299	25 9
1720	Bursting of the Mississippi Scheme			11
1723	Reign of Louis XV.	I	320	9 21
1745	Marquise de Pompadour	VII	286	11 9
1751	Voltaire visits Frederick the Great	XI	150	26
1762	Rousseau writes his <i>Contrat Social</i>	XI	167	26
1763	Surrender of Canada to the English (see CANADA)	III	330	11
1764	Expulsion of the Jesuits, Nov. 26	I	322	9
1774	Accession of Louis XVI.	III	300	26
1780	Rochambeau sent to aid American Revolution	VI	133	11
1789	The States-General and National Assembly	IV	313	26
	The Taking of the Bastille, July 14			9 26
	Lafayette organizes the National Guard	VI	100	21
1793	Execution of the King, Jan. 21	III	310	26
	(See FRENCH REVOLUTION in Index of Events)			
	European coalition against France	IX	214	9 11 21
1794	Fall of Robespierre ends Reign of Terror, July 27	IV	323	26
	Napoleon's First Campaign in Italy	II	20	27
1796	Napoleon marries Josephine	V	307	27
1797	British Naval victories, Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown	VI	368	21
1798	The Pope a prisoner			7 11
	Egyptian expedition. Nelson's victory on the Nile, Aug. 2	VI	369	21
1799	Napoleon's victory at Aboukir, July 25	II	15	27
	Napoleon First Consul, Dec. 24	II	30	27
1800	Convention with United States			21
1801	Peace of Lunéville, Feb. 9			27
	Capitulation to England at Alexandria, March 21	II	18	27
1802	Peace of Amiens, March 27			21
1803	Louisiana sold by Napoleon to United States, April 30	IV	384	27
1804	Napoleon crowned Emperor, May 18	V	309	27
1805	Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, Oct. 21	VI	371	27 21
	Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, Dec. 2	II	40	27
1806	Jena, Oct. 14, and Friedland	II	32	27
1807	Talleyrand turns against Napoleon	IX	248	27
1809	Wagram, July 6. Wellington victor at Talavera, July 27	VII	303	21
1810	Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise, April 1	V	336	27
1812	The Retreat from Moscow	II	35	27
1813	The War of Liberation. Battle of Lützen, May 2	VII	294	27
1814	The Allies invade France. Abdication of Napoleon			27
	Banishment to Elba. Louis XVIII. on the throne	II	38	27 28
		VII	300	27 28
1815	Waterloo, July 18	II	61	
1821	Death of Napoleon at St. Helena, May 5	II	39	27

FRANCE (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1824	Accession of Charles X.	. . .	. . .	28
1830	Revolution, July 30. Louis Philippe made King	. . .	. . .	29
1848	Revolution, Feb. 24. Flight of Louis Philippe. Louis Napoleon chosen President	IX	310	28 30
1851	Coup d'État, Dec. 2. Napoleon III. Emperor	IX	314	21 28
1852	Victor Hugo banished from France	IX	324	30
1854	Crimean War	IX	312	28
1859	War with Austria. Solferino and Magenta	IX	312	30
1866	Intervention in Mexico collapses. Execution of Maximilian, June 19, 1867.	IX	313	30
1867	Garibaldi defeated at Mentana, Nov. 3	IX	339	28
	De Lesseps completes the Suez Canal, Feb. 17	IX	374	28
1870	War with Prussia declared July 19	IX	313	28 31
	Collapse of French army and empire, Sept. 2 (See William I., Bismarck, Moltke)	IX	347	30 31
1871	Alsace and part of Lorraine ceded to Germany. Rise of the Commune in Paris	X	192	28 32 30
	Republic established for the third time	X	201	28 30
1873	Thiers resigns. Marshal MacMahon becomes President, May 24	X	192	30 33
1879	MacMahon resigns Presidency, Jan. 30. J. Grévy succeeds	. . .	. . .	30 33
	Prince Louis Napoleon slain by Zulus, June 1	. . .	. . .	34
1881	Gambetta becomes premier, Nov. 9	X	201	30 35
1882	Gambetta resigns his ministry, Jan. 26	X	201	35
	Death of Gambetta, Dec. 31	X	202	35
1883	Death of Comte de Chambord (Henry V.), Aug. 24	. . .	. . .	34
	Comte de Paris succeeds to his claim to French throne	. . .	. . .	34
1887	General G. Boulanger calls for revenge on Germany	. . .	. . .	30 34
	Grévy resigns Presidency, Dec. 2	. . .	. . .	30 34
	Sadi Carnot elected his successor	. . .	. . .	34
1894	Assassination of President Sadi Carnot, June 24	. . .	. . .	34
	Casimir Perier elected his successor	. . .	. . .	34
A.D. 1894	Conspiracy against Dreyfus	X	394	36

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|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. GIBBON, E., <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.</i> 2. DODGE, T. A., <i>Cæsar.</i> (Great Captains.) 3. SIME, J., <i>The Franks.</i> (Story of Nations.) 4. MERIVALE, C., <i>History of Rome.</i> 5. BRADLEY, H., <i>The Goths.</i> (Story of Nations.) 6. FREEMAN, E. A., <i>The Franks and Gauls.</i> 7. MOELLER, W., <i>History of the Christian Church.</i>
MONTALEMBERT, COUNT, <i>The Monks of the West.</i> 8. THIERRY, A., <i>Progress of the Tiers État.</i> 9. KITCHIN, G. W., <i>History of France.</i> 10. MARTIN, H., <i>History of France.</i> 11. SISMONDI, J. C. L. DE, <i>France under Feudal System.</i> 12. GUIZOT, F. P., <i>History of France.</i> 13. MICHELET, J., <i>History of France.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 14. MASSON, G., <i>Mediæval France.</i> (Story of Nations.) 15. BURR, G. L., <i>Charlemagne.</i> (Heroes of Nations.) 16. MICHAUD, J. F., <i>The Crusades.</i>
COX, G. W., <i>The Crusades.</i> (Epochs of History.)
ARCHER, T. A., <i>The Crusades.</i> (Story of Nations.) 17. JEWETT, S. O., <i>The Normans.</i> (Story of Nations.)
JOHNSON, A. H., <i>The Normans in Europe.</i> (Epochs of Modern History.) 18. JAMISON, D. F., <i>Bertrand du Guesclin.</i> 19. TUCKEY, JANET, <i>Joan of Arc.</i> (New Plutarch.) 20. LODGE, R., <i>Charles the Bold.</i> (Heroes of Nations.) 21. KIRK, J. F., <i>Charles the Bold</i> |
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FRANCE (Continued).

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19. DURUY, V., *History of the Middle Ages.*
20. WILLERT, P. F., *Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots.* (Heroes of Nations.)
21. CRAWFORD, E., *Modern France.* (Story of Nations.)
22. FROUDE, J. A., *History of England.*
23. BESANT, W., *Coligny.* (New Plutarch.)
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- CONSTANT, M., *Napoleon in Private Life.*
24. SULLY, DUKE OF, *Memoirs.*
25. HASSELL, A., *Louis XIV.* (Heroes of Nations.)
- JAMES, G. P. R., *Life of Louis XIV.*
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- SYBEL, H. VON, *French Revolution.*
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- LANFREY, P., *History of Napoleon I.*
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- LAS CASES, COUNT DE, *Exile and Conversations of Napoleon.*
- O'MEARA, B. E., *Napoleon in Exile.*
- SLOANE, W. M., *Napoleon.*
28. BROWNING, OSCAR, *Modern France, 1814-1879.*
29. BLANC, LOUIS, *History of Ten Years, 1830-40.*
30. LATIMER, E. W., *France in 19th Century, 1830-1890.*
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32. LISSAGARAY, P. O., *History of the Commune.*
- LEIGHTON, J., *Paris under the Commune.*
33. HILLEBRAND, K., *France and the French.*
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36. *Contemporary documents.*

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|---|---|

GERMANY.

For the Authorities Referred to see page 400.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 12	First campaign of Romans under Drusus	I	76	1 2
8	Tiberius crosses the Rhine	VIII	355	3
A.D. 9	Augustus Cæsar sends another army under L. Q. Varus, who is defeated by Arminius (Hermann) at the Battle of the Teuto- burger Wald	VI	204	4
14	Campaign of Germanicus	I	77	5 3
250-500	Local wars and migrations	III	174	4
500	Conversion of the Franks under Clovis	VI	236	6 4
687	Battle of Testry, Austrasian supremacy		3	7
732	Charles Martel defeats the Saracens at Tours	I	42	5 3 8
771	Charlemagne, King of the Franks	V	510	7
800	Charlemagne crowned Emperor of Rome	V	7	9 1
843	Treaty of Verdun, division of the realm, the beginning of Modern Germany and France			1 7 11
919	Henry the Fowler, King of Germany	IV	71	1 12
924	Hungarian invasion			12 13
962	Otho the Great restores the Roman Empire		9	7
1056	Henry IV., Emperor of Germany	IV	76	13 1
1073	Hildebrand becomes Pope Gregory VII.	IV	86	14
1077	Henry IV. goes to Canossa	IV	87	1 9
1080	Godfrey of Bouillon on behalf of Henry defeats Rudolph of Swabia	IV	78	1
	Gregory VII. deposed. Clement III. made Pope	IV	78	1
1084	Henry conquers Rome and is crowned Emperor	IV	78	1
1088	Urban II. becomes Pope	IV	103	15
1095	Council of Clermont. Urban commissions Peter the Hermit to preach a General Crusade	IV	109	16 8
	Henry V., Emperor of Germany	IV	105	11
1098	Henry V. forces Pope Paschal to crown him	IV	137	1 9
1111	Peace restored by the Concordat of Worms	IV	139	1
1122	Hohenstaufen Dynasty	IV	145	1
1138-1524	Hanseatic League			1
1140-1723	Frederick Barbarossa crowned Emperor of the West	IX	70	1
1152	Frederick II. captures Jerusalem			16 1
1228	Rudolf of Hapsburg founds his line	XI	25	9 11
1273	The Golden Bull of Charles IV.		1	9
1356	Hohenzollerns become Electors of Brandenburg			1
1417	Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, controls the Rhine	I	128	13 19
1473	Charles V. elected Emperor	IX	144	1 20
1519	Luther at the Diet of Worms, April	X	305	17
1521	Gustavus Vasa becomes King of Sweden	V	199	35
1523	The Peasants' War			1 21 20
1524	Battle of Pavia. Francis I. captive	IX	146	20 23
1534	Luther publishes his translation of the Bible		18	9
1546	Death of Luther, February 18	X	305	18
1618	The Thirty Years' War begins			6 1 22
1620	Battle of Prague, November 8			1 22
1625	Wallenstein creates an army	V	223	35
1632	Gustavus Adolphus killed at Battle of Lützen, November 16	V	214	35 6 1
	Christina becomes Queen of Sweden	IX	173	22

GERMANY (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1634	Assassination of Wallenstein, February 25	V	224	22 6 1
1643	Condé at the Battle of Rocroi, May 19	V	170	23 1
1654	Abdication of Queen Christina, June 16	IX	176	22 35
1674	Turenne's siege of Philippsburg	V	181	23
1675	The Great Elector's victory at Fehrbellin, June 28	IV	61	1 28
1683	Sobieski repels the Turks from Vienna, September 12	IV	240	24 30
1686	League of Augsburg against Louis XIV.	II	294	23 6
1700	Battle of Narva, November 30	II	272	28 35
1702	War of the Spanish Succession			24
1704	Battle of Blenheim, August 13	IX	115	26 28
1713	Peace of Utrecht, March 31			28
1718	Death of Charles XII. of Sweden, December 11	II	270	28
1740	Frederick the Great succeeds to the throne	IV	5	27
	Maria Theresa becomes Queen of Hungary	IX	182	24
1741	Frederick the Great's first battle, Mollwitz	IV	15	27
1756	The Seven Years' War begins	IV	29	27 29
1757	Frederick's four battles, Prague, Kolin, Rosbach, Leuthen	IV	37	27
1760	Frederick the Great's last victory, Torgau, November 3	IV	43	29
1763	Peace of Hubertsberg, February 15. End of Seven Years' War	IV	34	24 27
1765	Joseph II. becomes Emperor of Germany	IX	193	24
1792	War with Revolutionary France			23
1794	Kosciusko and the fall of Poland	II	211	30 28
	French victories on the Rhine			23 28
1800	Austrian defeats at Marengo, June 14, and Hohenlinden, Dec. 3	II	17	28
1801	Peace of Lunéville			28
1805	Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, December 2	II	40	28 23
	Peace of Pressburg, December 26			28
1806	Confederation of the Rhine. End of the Holy Roman Empire			9 28
	Napoleon invades Prussia. Battle of Jena, October 14	II	32	23
	Queen Louisa pleads with Napoleon	IX	237	28
1807	Napoleon invades Russia. Victory at Friedland	VI	358	28
	Treaty of Tilsit, July 7			28
1808	Decline of Prussia. Stein's reforms	IX	236	31
1809	Napoleon advances to Vienna; defeat at Aspern	II	34	31
	His victory at Wagram, July 6. Peace of Schönbrunn and acqui- sition of territory	II	34	23 28
1810	Hofer and the Revolt of the Tyrol	VII	321	28
	The Hansa towns annexed to France			32
	Napoleon marries Marie Louise of Austria, April 1	II	34	23
1812	Teutonic Union against Napoleon			23 28 1
1813	Prussia joins Russia in the War of Liberation			23
	Battle of Lützen, May 2	VII	294	28 1
	Battle of Leipsic, October 16-19. Retreat of Napoleon	VI	357	23 1
1814	The Allies in Paris. Congress of Vienna	II	36	28
	Germanic Confederation			28
1815	Blücher at Waterloo	VII	295	23 5 28
	Formation of Holy Alliance, September 26			28
1819	The Zollverein formed			28
1822	Congress of Verona, August 25-December 14			28
1840	Frederick William IV., King of Prussia	IX	346	27
1848	Revolutionary movements in Germany, Austria, and Hungary			28
	German National Assembly at Frankfort, May 18	IX	346	28
1859	Franco-Italian war. Austria loses Lombardy	IX	330	28
1861	William I., King of Prussia, January 2	IX	346	28 33
1862	Bismarck chief minister	X	180	34
1864	Austro-Prussian army seizes Schleswig-Holstein	X	180	28

GERMANY (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1866	The Seven Weeks' War. Battle of Sadowa, July 3	IX	353	38
1870	War with France. Restoration of Alsace and Lorraine. (See William I., Bismarck, Moltke)	IX IX	313 353	33 28
1871	King William proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles	X	185	34
1888	Accession and death of Frederick III.			34
	Accession of William II.			34
	The last of the Hansa Towns join the Zollverein			32
1890	Retirement of Prince Bismarck, March 18	X	183	34

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- TREADWELL, J. H., *Luther and his Work*. (New Plutarch.)
- LODGE, R., *Charles the Bold*.
- KIRK, J. F., *Charles the Bold*.
- ROBERTSON, W., *Charles V*.
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- LOWE, C., *Prince Bismarck*.
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GERMANY (Continued).

ADDITIONAL WORKS FOR REFERENCE AND STUDY.

- | | |
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|--|---|

ROME (Ancient) and ITALY.

For the Authorities Referred to see page 404.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B. C. 753	Foundation of the City by Romulus	I	83	1 9
	Abduction of the Sabine women	I	85	1 8
716-672	Numa Pompilius, king, introduces laws and religion			2 3
534-509	Tarquinius Superbus, king, establishes an aristocratical republic			1 2 3
509	Expulsion of Tarquin			1 6 7
495	The Plebeians rise against the Patricians			3
492	Creation of Tribunes of the people			3 9
491	Coriolanus banished			1 3
489-450	The Volscian wars			1 9
471	The Patricians excluded from the "Comitia Tributa"			1 7
466	The Great Plague			1 8
458	Cincinnatus, Dictator			7 8
451-400	Various systems of law instituted which extend the liberty of the Plebeians			7 8 8
405	The ten years' conflict with Veii begins			1 7
396	Veii destroyed by Camillus			1 3
390-347	Invasions by the Gauls, Rome captured			7 1
368	Temple of Concord built			1 18
348	Commercial treaty with Carthage			1 3
343	First Samnite War			2 3
335	Peace with the Gauls			1 8
327	Second Samnite War			9 3
320	Personal slavery for debt abolished			1 10
312	Claudius builds the Appian Way			78 1 9
295	Decius defeats the Samnites			79 1 18
290	Domination of Rome over Central Italy			44 1 11
282	War with Pyrrhus and the Tarentines	II	78	47 9 13
280	Defeat of Romans at Heraclea	II	79	47 11 21
264	The first Punic War	V	44	43 18
217	Second Punic War, battle at Thrasymenus	V	47	189 3 11
216	Victory of Hannibal at Cannæ	V	47	48 18
212	Victory of Hasdrubal in Spain	V	43	49 13 21
	Marcellus captures Syracuse	VI	189	72 1
207	Defeat of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus	V	48	22 12 3
202	Defeat of Hannibal by Scipio at Zama	V	49	86 1 13
191	War with Antiochus the Great	V	72	330 3 14
150	Decline of the Republic begins			103 1 9
146	Destruction of Carthage	V	86	93 14 1
133	The Gracchi and the Agrarian Laws	I	330	93 9
108	Jugurtha defeated by Metellus	V	103	56 14 3
107	Caius Marius Consul	II	93	57 1 14
102	Caius Marius defeats the Cimbri	II	93	79 22 1
88	Sulla Consul	III	56	48 20 1
78	Death of Sulla	III	57	94 17 3
83	Rise of Pompey	III	79	14 19 23
63	Catiline's conspiracy	III	48	15 15 24
60	The First Triumvirate, Pompey, Cæsar, Crassus	I	94	82 22 19
55	Britain invaded by Cæsar	III	14	
51	Gaul subdued by Cæsar	III	15	
50	Rivalry of Cæsar and Pompey	III	82	

ROME and ITALY (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B. C. 48	Battle of Pharsalus	III	32	23
47	Cæsar with Cleopatra	III	115	9 19
46	Cæsar dictator. Vercingetorix put to death	III	40	19 25
44	Assassination of Cæsar	III	29	19 22 25
43	The First Triumvirate, Octavius, Antony, Lepidus	VI	205	17 22
31	Naval battle of Actium. End of Roman republic	III	101	22
27	Octavius takes the title of Augustus	VI	204	22 15
8	Campaigns of Tiberius in Germany	VIII	356	10 4
A.D. 41	Caligula exiles Seneca	IX	25	3
54	Reign of Nero	VIII	365	3 15
70	Siege of Jerusalem	IX	16	4 45
79	Death of Vespasian	IX	8	3
84	Agricola's campaigns in Britain	IX	33	4 15
107	Persecution of Christians under Trajan	IX	45	4
138	Death of Hadrian	IX	25	4
161	Marcus Aurelius, emperor	II	256	16 4
273	Surrender of Palmyra under Zenobia	VII	105	5 4
284	Diocletian reconstructs the empire	IX	10	5
303	Last great persecution of the Christians	IX	5	7
312	Conversion of Constantine	VII	115	5 26
324	Byzantium (Constantinople) capital of the empire	VII	116	10
361	Julian, the Apostate emperor	IX	5	5
363	Christianity re-established	IX	5	10
390	Emperor Theodosius rebuked by St. Ambrose	IX	55	26 32
400	Alaric invades Italy	III	166	27 5
410	Britain abandoned	IX	65	32
415	St. Augustine opposes Pelagius	III	175	27
441	Invasion by Attila	IX	5	5
452	Origin of Venice	IX	4	12
476	Fall of the Roman Empire	IX	28	27
493	Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths	I	339	5
527	Justinian recovers Italy	VII	126	5
538	Belisarius captures Ravenna	VII	138	29
627	Heraclius defeats Chosroes at Nineveh	V	7	31 30
750	The Pope assumes independence	V	12	5
800	Coronation of Charlemagne	V	31	30
962	Holy Roman Empire founded	V	5	31
1077	Otho the Great crowned Emperor of Germany and Italy at Rome	IV	77	12
1122	Henry IV. goes to Canossa	IV	76	33 12
1155-1187	The Diet of Worms	IX	70	12 32
1215	Frederic Barbarossa's conflicts with the Popes	IX	34	35
1223	Guelphs and Ghibellines at issue	XI	104	33
1271	Francis of Assisi founds Franciscan order	X	94	33
1354	Marco Polo explores Tartary	X	5	37
1377	Revolution of Rienzi	VI	12	33
1450	Return of Papal Court from Avignon	VI	35	35
1475	Building of the Vatican	VI	35	35
1492	Lorenzo de' Medici revives art and learning	VI	33	36
1494	The Papacy in the hands of the Borgias	VI	35	36
1501	Rome captured by Charles VIII.	III	225	35
1529	Naples under the Spaniards	III	35	35
1545	The French expelled from Genoa	III	33	12
1548	Council of Trent	III	33	12
1575	Charles V. publishes the Interim	III	33	12
1633	Tasso imprisoned	X	147	33 38 45
	Galileo before the Inquisition	X	26	33 38 45

ROME and ITALY (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1647	Revolt under Masaniello	. . .	. . .	37
1713	Peace of Utrecht, March 31	IX	114	39
1741	War of the Austrian succession	IX	182	39
1799	Expulsion of the French from Italy	. . .	. . .	39
1800	Papacy re-established by Napoleon	. . .	. . .	40
1802	Bonaparte president of Italian republic	. . .	. . .	40
1808	Murat made King of Naples	. . .	. . .	40
1809	Papal States annexed to French Empire, July 5	. . .	. . .	40
1810	Napoleon's son King of Rome	. . .	. . .	40
1813	Papal Concordat with Napoleon	. . .	. . .	40
1814	Return of the Pope to Rome, May 24	. . .	. . .	40
1815	Works of art taken by Napoleon are returned	. . .	. . .	40
1821	Insurrection in Naples and Sicily	. . .	. . .	41
1831	Rise of Young Italy under Mazzini	. . .	. . .	41
1848	French occupation of Rome	. . .	. . .	41
1859	Marshal MacMahon wins battle of Magenta	XII	77	39 41
	Cavour accomplishes the unification of Italy	XII	69	41
1860-61	Garibaldi's campaign of liberation	IX	339	42
	New Kingdom proclaimed under Victor Emmanuel	IX	330	43
1870	Rome occupied by the king	IX	331	43
1871	Rome made the Capital of Italy, July 1	IX	331	44
1878	Humbert succeeds to the throne	. . .	. . .	39
	Leo XIII. crowned Pope	X	368	39

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2. DYER, T. H., *Hist. of the Kings of Rome*.
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7. ARNOLD, T., *History of Rome*.
8. MAINE, H. S., *Ancient Law*.
9. GILMAN, A., *Rome*. (Story of Nations.)
10. PELHAM, H. F., *Roman Empire*.
11. FREEMAN, E. A., *Sicily*. (Story of Nations.)
12. BRYCE, J., *Holy Roman Empire*.
13. CHURCH, A. J., *Carthage*. (Story of Nations.)
14. BEESLY, A. H., *The Gracchi, Marius, Sulla*.
15. CAPES, W. W., *Early Roman Empire*.
16. CAPES, W. W., *Roman Empire, 2d Century*.
17. MERIVALE, C., *Roman Triumvirates*.
18. BOSWORTH-SMITH, R., *Rome and Carthage*.
19. FOWLER, W. WARDE, *Julius Cæsar*.
20. STRACHAN-DAVIDSON, J. L., *Cicero*.
21. DODGE, T. A., *Hannibal*. (Great Captains.)
22. MERIVALE, C., *Fall of the Roman Republic*.
23. DODGE, T. A., *Julius Cæsar*. (Great Captains.)
24. CÆSAR'S *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*.
25. FROUDE, J. A., *Cæsar*.
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27. HODGKIN, T., *Italy and Her Invaders*.
28. BRADLEY, H., *The Goths*. (Story of Nations.)
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32. MILMAN, H. H., *Hist. of Latin Christianity*.
33. RANKE, L., *History of the Popes*.
34. BROWNING, O., *Guelfs and Ghibellines*.
35. SYMONDS, J. A., *Renaissance in Italy*.
36. CREIGHTON, M., *History of Papacy during Reformation*.
37. SISMONDI, J. C. L. de, *History of Italian Republics*.
38. LEA, H. C., *History of the Inquisition*.
39. DYER, T. H., *History of Modern Europe*.
40. BOTTA, C., *Italy during the Consulate and Empire of Napoleon*.
41. THAYER, W. R., *Dawn of Italian Independence*.
42. GARIBALDI, G., *Autobiography*.
43. DICEY, E., *Victor Emmanuel*.
44. O'CLERY, CHEVALIER, *The Making of Italy*.
45. MORRISON, W. D., *The Jews under Rome*.

RUSSIA.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 862	Origin of the nation	..	10	2 1
955	Christianity introduced	..	..	9
1235	Grand-duchy of Lithuania	..	..	8
1480	Rise of the Duchy of Moscow. Ivan the Great	..	5	6
1533	Title of Czar first used by Ivan the Terrible	..	3	2
1580	Conquests by Poland	..	..	3
1612	The Romanëff Dynasty	..	2	3 6
1617	Conquests by Sweden	V	207	3
1655	Persecution of the Raskolnik sect	..	..	10
1689	Accession of Peter the Great	VI	337	11 2
1696	Capture of Azov	..	..	3 2
1707	Charles XII. of Sweden, victory at Narva	II	272	6 3
1709	Charles XII. defeated at Pultowa, July 8	II	268	6 3
1721	Peace of Nystad	..	..	6
1725	Accession of Catherine I.	..	..	2
1743	Part of Finland acquired from Sweden	..	..	3
1755	Coalition with Austria and Saxony against Frederick the Great	IV	5	6 7
1761	Accession of Peter III.	..	..	7
1762	Peter III. deposed and put to death by his wife, who became Empress Catherine II.	II	192	12 2 3
1793	Partition of Poland	II	201	6 14 7
1796	Death of Catherine II. Accession of Paul	II	19	12
1800	Alliance with Napoleon	II	19	7
1801	Assassination of Paul. Accession of Alexander I.	..	..	3
1807	Alexander I. meets Napoleon at Tilsit	XII	12	2 7
	Treaty of Tilsit, July 7	IX	247	6
1812	Napoleon's invasion. His retreat	II	35	3
1831	Nicholas I. subdues Poland	XII	19	3 7
1846	Polish republic crushed	..	..	6 7 14
1853	Crimean War	X	281	7 13
1855	Capture of Sebastopol, Sept. 9	X	282	..
1856	End of war. Declaration of Paris	..	..	7
1860	Alexander II. frees the serfs	XII	30	2 7
1861	Rise of Nihilism. Abolition of serfdom	..	..	4
1877	War with Turkey	X	296	2 3 17
1881	Assassination of Alexander II. Accession of Alexander III.	..	..	7
1885	Alexander III. and the Bulgarian succession	XII	39	2 3
1891	Persecution of Jews	..	..	..
1894	Accession of Nicholas II.	..	..	..
1898	Nicholas II. issues his peace manifesto	XII	51	18

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KELLY, W. K., <i>History of Russia</i> .
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6. ALISON, A., <i>History of Europe</i> . |
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|---|--|

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 218-202	Hannibal rules in the south. The second Punic War	V	44	2 5
83	Sertorius in power. (See Metellus and Pompey)	II	108	3 4
60	Cæsar's campaigns	III	8	3 6
A.D. 200	Christianity introduced			7
409	Invasion of the Vandals		7	11
477	Spain under Gothic rule			8
711	Conquest by the Arab-Moors		9	23 11
778	Invasion by Charlemagne	V	6	9 10
1213	Pedro II. of Aragon defeated by Simon de Montfort			11
1270	The Alhambra built		12	23
1366	Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile	IV	194	10 11
1367	Battle of Navaretta	IV	199	10
1369	Henry of Trastamare kills Don Pedro	IV	198	11
1479	Ferdinand and Isabella reign	III	208	14 13
	Inquisition established			15
1492	Capture of Granada. Expulsion of Jews	III	213	14
	Columbus discovers America, October 12	II	138	16
1493	Pope Alexander VI.'s Partition of the World	X	65	16 11
1497	Vasco da Gama sails round the Cape of Good Hope	IX	364	11
1504	Gonsalvo de Cordova captures Gaeta	III	227	11 17
1513	Balboa discovers the Pacific	X	70	16
1519-22	Magellan's expedition circumnavigates the globe	X	63	11
1540	Ignatius Loyola founds the Jesuits	XI	399	15
1571	Naval battle of Lepanto, won by John of Austria	IX	158	11 14
1573	Leyden delivered from the Spaniards	XI	10	14
1588	The Invincible Armada destroyed	III	240	18
1605	Cervantes prints <i>Don Quixote</i>	X	150	
1704	Capture of Gibraltar by the English			19
1782	Failure to recapture Gibraltar			
1808	Revolt against Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain	II	33	20
1809	Wellington's victorious campaign	VII	303	21
	Sir John Moore at Corunna	XI	187	19 21
1814	Expulsion of the French			21
1822	Bolívar liberates Peru	IX	396	24
1843	Accession of Isabella			22
1868	Flight of the Queen. Temporary Republic			
1875	Accession of Alphonso XII.			22
1885	The Queen Regent rules during the minority of Alphonso XIII.			22
1898	Spanish fleet under Cervera destroyed	XII	262	25

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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4. ARNOLD, T., <i>History of Rome</i> .
5. BOSWORTH-SMITH, R., <i>Rome and Carthage</i> . | 6. FOWLER, W. W., <i>Julius Cæsar</i> . (Heroes of Nations.)
7. GIBBON, E., <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> .
8. BRADLEY, H., <i>The Goths</i> . (Story of Nations.)
9. LANE-POOLE, S., <i>Moors in Spain</i> . (Story of Nations.) |
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SPAIN and PORTUGAL (Continued).

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|---|---|

CARTHAGE.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 907	Ethbaal, father of Jezebel, King of Tyre (?)	..	..	3
480	Invasion of Sicily. Defeat at Himera	..	..	5 9
409	Destruction of Agrigentum	..	..	5 9
396	Siege of Syracuse	..	..	5 8
264	First Punic War	..	..	2 8
241	Revolt of the Mercenaries. Loss of Sicily	..	..	1
237	Carthaginians begin conquest of Spain	..	..	1 8
218	Second Punic War begun. Hannibal crosses the Alps. Defeat of the Romans at Trebia	V	46	4 8 6
217	Roman defeat at Thrasymene	V	47	4
216	Roman defeat at Cannæ	V	47	4 8 6
212	Romans under Marcellus capture Syracuse	VI	189	6
	Hasdrubal's victories in Spain	V	44	1 8
207	Hasdrubal defeated and killed at the Metaurus	V	48	2
202	Hannibal's defeat at Zama	V	49	7 4 2
146	Destruction of Carthage by Scipio	V	86	1 8 2
44	Carthage restored by Cæsar	III	5	6 8 1
A.D. 439	Carthage captured by Vandals	..	..	1
533	Carthage subdued by Belisarius	VII	125	6- 2
698	Carthage destroyed by Arabs	..	..	1 2

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5. THIRLWALL, C., <i>History of Greece</i> .
GROTE, G., <i>History of Greece</i> .
6. IHNE, W., <i>History of Rome</i> .
7. CREASY, E. S., <i>Fifteen Decisive Battles</i> .
8. MOMMSEN, T., <i>History of Rome</i> .
9. FREEMAN, E. A., <i>History of Sicily</i> . |
|---|--|

EGYPT and WESTERN ASIA.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 3000	First Egyptian dynasty. Menes	.	.	2 3 5
2800	The great pyramid built by Cheops	.	.	3
2348	The Noachian deluge	.	.	5
2100	Babylon built by Nimrod	.	.	8 6
1500	Correspondence of the kings with neighboring rulers, found in Tel-el-Amarna	.	.	17
1350	Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression	I	211	1 9
1300	Menepthah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus	I	215	1 17
1184	Trojan War	.	.	5
1055	The Hebrews establish a monarchy	.	.	9
1025	David, king of the twelve tribes of Israel	.	.	9
690	Invasion by Sennacherib	.	.	6
586	Invasion by Nebuchadnezzar	.	.	4
538	Cyrus captures Babylon	I	102	10
332	Conquest by Alexander the Great	I	19	4 7
323	Rule of the Ptolemies	VII	78	4
280	Septuagint Translation of Hebrew Scriptures	VII	86	5
51	Reign of Cleopatra	III	114	4 11
47	Cæsar's victory at Alexandria	III	26	11
30	Egypt a Roman province	III	98	11
A.D. 616	Conquered by Chosroes the Persian	.	.	10
640	Moslem conquest	.	.	14
1191	Richard I. defeats Saladin at Jaffa	.	.	13
1218	Invasion by the fifth crusade	IV	155	13
1249	Crusade of Saint Louis	I	363	13
1517	Ottoman conquest	.	.	14
1799	French conquest under Napoleon	II	14	15
	Expulsion of French by England	VI	366	15
1811	Massacre of the Mamelukes by Mehemet Ali	.	.	18
1840	Reign of the Khedives under Turkish suzerainty	.	.	18
1869	Suez canal opened	IX	377	18
1874	General Gordon governor of the Soudan	IX	384	16
1882	Arabi's rebellion. Bombardment of Alexandria	.	.	20
1883	English occupation of Egypt	.	.	20
1885	Gen. Gordon's mission and death at Khartoum	IX	387	16 19

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4. RAWLINSON, G., History of Ancient Egypt.
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12. GIBBON, E., Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.
13. MICHAUD, J. H., History of the Crusades.
14. LANE-POOLE, S., Story of Turkey. (Story of Nations.)
15. BOWEN, J. E., Conflict of East and West in Egypt.
16. HAKE, A. E., Story of Chinese Gordon.
17. EDWARDS, A. B., Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers.
18. LANE-POOLE, S., Egypt.
19. BUTLER, W. F., Charles George Gordon.
20. ROYLE, C., Egyptian Campaigns. |
|---|---|

GREECE.

For the Authorities Referred to, see Page 402.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 1100	The Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus	..	..	1
776	Olympian games founded	..	..	4
624	Athenian rule of Draco	I	220	1
594	Athenian constitution of Solon	I	224	1
510	Republic established at Athens	..	..	3 12
500-449	Persian wars against the Greeks	..	..	3
501	Ionian Greeks revolt against Persia, Sardis burnt	I	125	1
494	Persians defeat the Ionians	..	..	5
492	First and futile Persian expedition against Greece	I	125	3
490	Second invasion, battle of Marathon	I	304	6 8
484	Herodotus born	X	293	7
481	Third Persian invasion	..	..	3
480	Battle of Thermopylæ, death of Leonidas	I	226	3 9
	Naval fight of Salamis (See also X. 124)	I	236	7
479	Battles of Plataiai (Plateæ) and Mycale	I	311	3 7
475	Confederacy of Delos under Athens	..	..	1
471	Birth of Thucydides	X	294	2
468	Birth of Socrates	VII	62	1
466	Persians defeated at the Eurymedon	..	..	5 1
464	Third Messenian War	..	..	1
461	Pericles, Leader of the Athenian Democracy	I	110	8
445	Pericles concludes the Thirty Years' Truce	..	..	8
431-404	Peloponnesian War	I	111	2 1
430	Second invasion of Attica by Spartans	..	..	10
429	Pericles dies of the plague	I	112	8
428	Birth of Plato	X	5	20
427	Plataiai (Plateæ) destroyed by Thebans	I	313	10
421	Peace of Nicias, end of First Peloponnesian War	VI	171	2
415	Mutilation of the Hermæ and flight of Alcibiades	VI	164	1
414	Second Peloponnesian War	..	..	2
413	Destruction of Athenians under Nicias at Syracuse	VI	172	14
411	Recall of Alcibiades	VI	163	1
408	Capture of Byzantium by Alcibiades	..	..	9
404	Fall of Athens, end of Peloponnesian War	..	..	1 3
401	Battle of Cunaxa, Cyrus the Younger slain. Retreat of 10,000 Greeks	VII	71	1
399	Socrates condemned to death	VII	65	4
387	The Peace of Antalcidas	VII	57	9 15
385	Mantineia destroyed by Spartans	..	..	1
379	Olynthian Confederacy dissolved	..	..	15
371	Defeat of Sparta at Leuctra	I	35	10
362	Epaminondas killed at Mantinea	I	34	10
359	Philip of Macedon enthroned	I	17	16
357	The Ten Years' Sacred War begins	..	..	1
351	First Philippic of Demosthenes	I	244	1
335	Destruction of Thebes by Alexander the Great. (See MACEDONIA)	I	18	18 1
317	Execution of Phocion	I	254	1
312	Restoration of Thebes	..	..	1 20
306	Antigonus assumes royal title	VII	80	1
280	Campaigns of Pyrrhus	II	79	1

GREECE (Continued).

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 227	War of Sparta with the Achaian League	. . .	10	15
191	Antiochus defeated at Thermopylæ	V	74	1
146	Roman conquest of Asia	V	86	19
86	Capture of Athens by Sulla, and massacre	III	56	19
48	Cæsar's campaign against Pompey	III	83, 5	19
A.D. 260	Invasion by Goths	. . .	. . .	1
330	Byzantium the capital of Roman Empire	. . .	. . .	19
395	Surrender to Alaric	III	165	19
446	Invasion by the Huns	. . .	. . .	1
527	Justinian recovers Italy and Africa	I	340	19
717-1205	The Byzantine Empire	. . .	. . .	21
1261	The restored Greek Empire	. . .	. . .	1
1453	The Turkish conquest	VIII	279	21
1466	Athens captured by the Venetians	. . .	. . .	21
1714	Turks expel the Venetians from the Morea	. . .	. . .	21
1770	Revolt against the Turks	. . .	. . .	1
1827	Battle of Navarino, November 26. National independence	. . .	. . .	22
1863	Prince George of Denmark elected King	. . .	. . .	22
	Ionian Islands ceded by England	. . .	. . .	22

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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|--|---|
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|--|---|

INDIA.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 2000	The Aryas settle in the valley of the Indus	.	.	1
1500	The Rig-Veda sacred scriptures	.	.	13 2
624	Birth of Prince Siddhartha, who became Gautama Buddha	X	90	3
520	Invasion by Darius	I	122	3
327	Invasion of the Punjab by Alexander the Great	I	17	3
300	Brahmanism and Buddhism	X	90	4 13
A.D. 977-1290	Under Ghaznavide and Mameluke rule	.	.	3
1220	Jenghis Khan reaches the Indus	IV	180	8
1290-1398	Under Mongol rule; the Mogul Empire	.	.	14
1399	Invasion by Timour the Tartar (Tamerlane)	IV	185	5 3 14
1510	Portuguese settle in Goa	X	77	3
1560	Akbar crowned Emperor of the Moguls	XI	122	7
1600	English East India Company formed	.	.	6 7
1658	Reign of Aurungzebe	VIII	304	1
1672	Mahratta rule	VIII	305	8
1739	Massacre at Delhi by the invader, Nadir Shah	.	.	3
1752	Clive victorious over the French	VIII	318	7 9
1756	Tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta	VIII	321	3 9
1772	English supremacy established	.	.	12 13
1773	Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General	VIII	333	9
1795	Warren Hastings, impeachment of	VIII	336	10
1803	Sir A. Wellesley's (Wellington) victory at Assaye, September 13	VII	309	.
1819	Overthrow of Mahrattas	.	.	3
1849	Conquest of the Punjab	.	.	12
1857	The Sepoy mutiny	.	.	11
1858	The government transferred to the crown	.	.	11
1877	Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India	X	218	.
1878	Gen. Lord Roberts' victory at Kandahar	X	377	7 15

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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- MÜLLER, M., *Sacred Books of the East.*
- WHEELER, J. T., *History of India.*
- WILLIAMS, MONIER, *Buddhism.*
- CREASY, E. S., *History of the Ottoman Turks.*
- KAYE, J. W., *Administration of East India Company.*
- LYALL, A., *Rise of British Dominion in India.*
- MALLESON, G. B., *History of Afghanistan.*
- MALLESON, G. B., *Founders of the Indian Empire: Clive.*
- LYALL, A., *Warren Hastings.*
- MALLESON, G. B., *The Indian Mutiny.*
- MALLESON, G. B., *Decisive Battles of India.*
- RHYS-DAVIDS, *Buddhist India.*
- RAGOZIN, Z. A., *Vedic India.*
- LANE-POOLE, S., *Mohammedan India.*
- HOLDEN, E. S., *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan.*
- Contemporary documents.

MACEDONIA.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B. C. 508	Under Persian rule	. .	. .	1
379	Olynthian Confederacy dissolved	V	52	2
359	Accession of Philip	I	61	1
352	Philip interferes in the Sacred War	V	63	2
336	Philip assassinated	I	18	1
	Alexander the Great succeeds to the Throne	I	18	3
335	Alexander the Great destroys Thebes	. .	. .	1
334	Alexander's expedition against Persia	I	19	6
	Alexander's victory at the Granicus	I	18	4
333	Alexander's victory at Issus	I	19	4
332	Alexander conquers Egypt. Founds Alexandria	VII	78	3
331	Alexander overthrows Persia, Battle of Arbela	I	21	4 5
326	Alexander invades India, defeats Porus	I	20	3
323	Death of Alexander at Babylon. Partition of his Kingdom among his Generals	VII	79	7 2
322	The Lamian War	. .	. .	2
310	Extermination of the heirs of Alexander	VII	80	2
296	Death of Cassander	. .	. .	3
287	Pyrrhus invades Macedonia	II	78	3 8
273	Death of Pyrrhus	II	82	8
146	The kingdom extinguished	. .	. .	3

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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2. COX, G. W., History of Greece. Also THIRLWALL, etc., see under GREECE.
3. MAHAFFY, J. P., Alexander's Empire. (Story of Nations.)
4. DODGE, T. A., Alexander (Great Captains.) | 5. CREASY, E. S., Fifteen Decisive Battles.
6. BENJAMIN, S. W. G., Persia. (Story of Nations.)
7. FREEMAN, E. A., Historical Essays.
8. Plutarch , STEWART and LONG (eds.). |
|--|--|

SICILY.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
B.C. 735	First Greek settlement	..	..	1
480	Invasion from Carthage. Battle of Himera	..	..	2
415	Unsuccessful siege of Syracuse	VI	162	2 3
405	Agrigentum destroyed	..	..	2
397	Dionysius, the Tyrant of Syracuse	..	..	2
344	Fall of Dionysius	..	..	1 2
278	Expedition of Pyrrhus	II	80	..
264	First Punic War. Romans in possession	..	..	5 1
216	Second Punic War. Alliance with Hannibal	V	44	7
212	Romans capture Syracuse	VI	189	3 1 6
133	Beginning of the Slave War	..	..	1
A.D. 440	Vandal supremacy	III	175	6 1
535	Recovered by Belisarius	VII	125	6
540	Invasion of Goths	III	165	1 10
878	Saracen conquest	III	174	4 8
1060	Norman conquest	VI	253	1 9
1131	Union with Naples	..	..	1
1266	Conquered by Charles of Anjou	..	..	1 9
1282	Massacre of the Sicilian Vespers	..	..	9 1
1530	Malta ceded to Knights of St. John	..	..	12
1713	Ceded by Spain to Duke of Savoy	..	..	12
1719	Acquired by Austria. Retaken by Spain	..	..	10 1
1749	Sicily under the Spanish Bourbons	..	..	11 12
1821	Revolutionary rising	..	..	11 12
1848	Insurrection, put down by King Bomba	..	..	12
1861	Liberated by Garibaldi. Becomes part of the new kingdom of Italy	IX	339	12

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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— <i>History of Sicily</i> .
2. GROTE, G., <i>History of Greece</i> .
THIRLWALL, C., <i>History of Greece</i> .
3. CREASY, E. S., <i>Fifteen Decisive Battles</i> .
4. FREEMAN, E. A., <i>Conquests of the Saracens</i> .
GILMAN, A., <i>The Saracens</i> . (Story of Nations.)
5. BOSWORTH-SMITH, R., <i>Rome and Carthage</i> . (Epochs of History.) | BOSWORTH-SMITH, R., <i>Carthage and the Carthaginians</i> .
6. MOMMSEN, T., <i>History of Rome</i> .
7. DODGE, T. A., <i>Hannibal</i> . (Great Captains.)
8. FINLAY, G., <i>History of Byzantine Empire</i> .
OMAN, C. W. C., <i>The Byzantine Empire</i> . (Story of Nations.)
9. DURUY, V., <i>The Middle Ages</i> .
10. HODGKIN, T., <i>Italy and Her Invaders</i> .
11. HUNT, W., <i>History of Italy</i> .
12. FYFFE, C. A., <i>Modern Europe</i> . |
|--|--|

MOHAMMEDANS.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 570	Birth of Mohammed	VIII	263	1
622	The Hegira	VIII	269	2
632-700	Conquests of Syria, Persia, Egypt and North Africa			6
710	Saracen subjugation of the Turks			3
711	Saracen conquest of Spain			1
732	Saracen defeat at Tours by Charles Martel	I	40	1 2 3
878	Saracen conquest of Sicily			3
750-1187	The Ghaznevide Empire			1 6
1058-1092	The Seljuk conquests			1
1097	Defeats of the First Crusaders	IV	110	7 1
1099	Siege of Jerusalem by the Crusaders	IV	123	7 6
1102	Crusaders defeated			7
1146	St. Bernard and the Second Crusade	V	121	7 6
1187	Saladin recovers Jerusalem	IV	166	3 7
1191	Siege of Acre by Richard Cœur de Lion	IV	153	7
1206	Conquests by the Mongul Jenghis Khan	IV	178	1
1229	Jerusalem yielded by treaty to Frederic II.	IX	82	7
1248-54	Crusade of St. Louis	I	363	7
1270	Prince Edward captures Nazareth	VI	273	7
1299	End of Christian Kingdom. Rise of the Ottoman Empire			5 6
1362	European conquests by Amurath I.			1
1401	Tamerlane captures Damascus	IV	189	2 13 1
1453	Capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II.	VIII	280	4 3
1518	Sultan becomes Head of Islam and the Barbary States			1
1638	Siege and destruction of Bagdad			1
1683	Sobieski repulses Turks at Vienna	IV	239	8 3
1700	The Holy League. Peter the Great captures Azov	VI	336	8 1
1717	Eugene of Savoy captures Belgrade from the Turks	XI	127	3
1790	Treaty with Catherine II.	II	197	8 1
1807	Napoleon proposes to divide Turkey with Russia			9 8
1826	War with Russia. Ottoman dominion lessened			9 8
1840	Egypt made a Pashalik			12
1877	Russian victory at Plevna. Treaty of Berlin	X	298	9 8 11
1895	European powers interfere to stop Turkish cruelties in Armenia			10 12

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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LANE-POOLE, S., *The Barbary Corsairs*. (Story of Nations.)
LANE-POOLE, S., *The Corsair Nations*. (Story of Nations.)
LANE-POOLE, S., *The Moors in Spain*. (Story of Nations.)
LANE-POOLE, S., *Mohammedan India*. (Story of Nations.)
OMAN, C. W. C., *Byzantine Empire*. (Story of Nations.)
GILMAN, A., *The Saracens*. (Story of Nations.)
2. CREASY, E. S., *Fifteen Decisive Battles*.
CREASY, E. S., *History of the Ottoman Turks*.
3. FREEMAN, E. A., *Conquests of the Saracens*.
FREEMAN, E. A., *The Ottoman Power in Europe*.
4. IRVING, W., *Mahomet and his Successors*.
5. LANE-POOLE, S., *Mohammedan Dynasties*.
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7. MICHAUD, *History of Crusades*.

MOHAMMEDANS (Continued).

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO (CONCLUDED).

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|--|---|

OTHER COUNTRIES.

Date.	EVENTS.	INDEX.		Authori- ties.
		Vol.	Page	
A.D. 1553	Calvin condemns Servetus	XI	120	2
1568	William of Orange takes up arms against Philip	XI	8	5
1818	Bernadotte made King of Sweden	XI	131	1
1844	Oscar I. made King of Sweden	XI	132	1
1848	Hungarian revolution	XI	141	1
1849	Kossuth made governor of Hungary	XI	138	1
1864	Li Hung Chang subdues Taiping rebellion	XII	57	3
1872	Oscar II. made King of Sweden	XI	132	1
1883	Paul Kruger elected president of Transvaal	X	387	4
1894	Cecil Rhodes, promoter in Southern Africa	X	380	4
1895	Jameson Raid in South Africa	XII	297	4
1897	British suzerainty in South Africa reasserted	XII	298	4
1899	Outbreak of the Boer War	XII	298	4
1900	Roberts in command in South Africa	XII	298	4
	Kruger sails for Holland	X	388	4
1901	Ellen M. Stone captured by Turkish brigands			
	Santos-Dumont's first successful balloon			
	Kitchener in command in South Africa	X	393	4
	Pan American Exposition			
1902	Cuban Government set up	XII	227	4
	Shah of Persia goes to English coronation			
	Dr. Kuyper goes to England on peace mission	X	388	4
	Cecil Rhodes dies at Capetown	X	383	4
	General amnesty in Philippines	XII	227	4
	Peace in the Transvaal	XII	300	4
	Boer generals go to Europe	XII	300	4

AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

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|--|--|
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|--|--|

CLASSIFIED INDEX.

American Names are Printed in Small Capitals.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
PRESIDENTS, PATRIOTS, STATES-		PHILOSOPHERS AND HISTORIANS .	431
MEN, AND NATIONAL LEADERS .	418	ARTISTS AND COMPOSERS	433
FAMOUS COMMANDERS	422	POETS, DRAMATISTS AND NOVEL-	
CONQUERORS, KINGS AND QUEENS	426	ISTS	433
EXPLORERS AND TRAVELLERS . .	429	RELIGIOUS LEADERS	435
SCIENTISTS, INVENTORS AND DIS-		FAMOUS WOMEN	436
COVERERS	431	ORATORS	437

Presidents, Patriots, Statesmen and National Leaders.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
A DAMS, JOHN, President	United States .	1776	Declaration of Independence	IV	342
	United States .	1797	The American People	IV	350
ADAMS, JOHN Q., Presid't	United States .	1825	Inaugural Address	VII	349
ADAMS, SAMUEL	United States .	1774	The First Congress	III	354
Akbar	India	1560	Emperor of Moguls	XI	122
Alcibiades	Greece	B.C. 415	Mutilation of the Hermæ . .	VI	160
Alfred the Great	England	878	Victory over Guthrum	I	259
Antony, Mark	Rome	B.C. 31	Battle of Actium	III	96
ARTHUR, CHESTER A. . .	United States .	1882	Succeeds Garfield	XII	133
BANCROFT, GEORGE .	United States .	1845	Secretary of U. S. Navy . . .	X	313
BALTIMORE, LORD . .	Eng. & America.	1632	Settlement of Maryland . . .	II	361
BAYARD, JAMES A. . . .	United States .	1814	Treaty of Ghent	XII	158
BAYARD, THOMAS F. . .	United States .	1893	Minister to Great Britain . .	XII	160
Beaconsfield, Lord . . .	England	1878	His Statesmanship	X	215
BENTON, THOMAS H. . .	United States .	1820	Opposes Calhoun	XI	340
Bismarck, Prince	Germany	1871	Proclamation of Ger. Empire	X	177
BLAINE, JAMES GILLESPIE	United States .	1884	Congressional Leader	X	242
BOLIVAR, Gen. SIMON . .	Venezuela . . .	1828	The Liberator	IX	391
BOUTWELL, GEORGE H. .	United States .	1868	Impeachment of Johnson . .	XII	99
Bruce, Robert	Scotland	1314	Battle of Bannockburn	VI	294
BUCHANAN, JAMES	United States .	1860	Eve of Secession	XI	358
Burke, Edmund	England	1775	American Love of Freedom .	IX	223
BURR, AARON	United States .	1806	His Expedition	VII	326

PRESIDENTS, PATRIOTS, STATESMEN AND NATIONAL LEADERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
CÆSAR, Caius Julius. . .	Rome	B.C. 55	Invasion of Britain	III	5
CALHOUN, JOHN C. . .	United States . .	1850	Nullification and Secession .	VII	378
Canning, George	England	1822	Prime Minister	XI	196
Caprivi, George von . . .	Germany	1890	Chancellor	X	363
CASS, LEWIS	United States . .	1813	Secretary of War	XI	362
Catiline, L. Sergius . . .	Rome	B.C. 63	His Conspiracy	III	47
Cavour, Camillo B. di . .	Italy	1847	Italian Independence	XII	67
Charles Edward, the young Pretender	Scotland	1743	Scottish War	XI	89
CHASE, SALMON P.	United States . .	1868	Chief Justice	XII	98
Chatham, Lord	England	1778	Defender of American Rights	VIII	346
CLAY, HENRY	United States . .	1850	Plea for the Union	VII	371
CLEVELAND, GROVER . . .	United States . .	1893	Columbian Exposition	XII	143
Cobden, Richard	England	1846	Apostle of Free Trade	XI	206
Coligny, Admiral	France	1572	The Huguenot Leader	V	144
COVODE, JOHN	United States . .	1868	Impeachment of Johnson . .	XII	110
Cromwell, Oliver	England	1645	Battle of Naseby	I	137
DALLAS, GEORGE M. . .	United States . .	1846	Tariff Bill	XI	329
Darius	Persia	B.C. 518	His Statesmanship	I	122
DAVIS, JEFFERSON	United States . .	1861	Inaugural Address	X	266
Deak, Francis	Hungary	1866	Austria-Hungary Union . . .	XI	140
Derby, Earl of	England	1878	Russo-Turkish War	XII	310
DICKINSON, JOHN	United States . .	1775	Causes for Taking up Arms .	VI	61
DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A. . .	United States . .	1851	American Policy in Foreign Affairs	IX	277
ELIOT, Sir John	England	1628	Charles I. and the Commons .	XI	30
EVARTS, WILLIAM M. . . .	United States . .	1877	Secretary of State	XII	122
FILLMORE, MILLARD . . .	United States . .	1850	Fugitive Slave Law	XI	333
Forster, William E. . . .	England	1879	Irish Home Rule	XI	239
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN . . .	United States . .	1780	His Diplomacy	I	346
Frederic William, the Great Elector	Germany	1672	The Emergence of Brandenburg	IV	59
GALLATIN, ALBERT	United States . .	1800	Secretary of Treasury	XI	249
Gambetta, Leon	France	1870	He Saves France	X	198
GARFIELD, JAMES A., President	United States . .	1879	Duty of Congress to Preserve the Government	X	236
Garibaldi, Giuseppe . . .	Italy	1867	Defeat at Mentana	IX	337
Gladstone, W. E.	England	1878	America an Example to Eng. .	X	204
Gracchi, The	Rome	B.C. 125	Character of Cornelia	I	329
Graham, Sir James	England	1848	Personal Liberty Acts	XI	218
GRANT, U. S., President . .	United States . .	1862	What Lincoln Did for Grant.	VIII	70
	United States . .	1885	Grant's Life-work	VIII	102
Granvella, Cardinal	Holland	1559	The Inquisition	XI	6
Grevy, Jules	France	1872	Opposition to Jesuits	X	370
Gustavus Vasa, King	Sweden	1523	His Reforms	V	198
HALE, JOHN P.	United States . .	1860	The Anti-slavery Struggle . .	XI	335
HAMILTON, ALEXANDER	United States . .	1791	His Statesmanship	IV	363
	United States . .	1791	The National Debt	IV	368
	United States . .	1804	The Duel with Burr	IV	373

PRESIDENTS, PATRIOTS, STATESMEN AND NATIONAL LEADERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
Hampden, John	England	1640	Impeachment of Five Mem- bers	V	247
HARRISON, BENJAMIN . .	United States . .	1776	Signer of the Declaration of Independence	XI	309
HARRISON, WILLIAM H .	United States . .	1841	President of the U. S.	XI	313
HARRISON, BENJAMIN . .	United States . .	1889	President of the U. S.	XII	174
Hastings, Warren	England	1788	Impeachment and Trial	VIII	333
Hayashi	Japan	1854	Perry's Treaty with Japan . .	XI	369
HAYES, RUTHERFORD B.	United States . .	1877	Electoral Commission	XII	121
HENRY, PATRICK	United States . .	1775	His Oratory	III	347
Hofer, Andrew	The Tyrol	1808	His Execution	VII	320
HOUSTON, Gen. SAM. . . .	United States . .	1835	Texas Free State	XI	294
IGNATIEF, Gen.	Russia	1876	Treaty of San Stefano	XII	310
JACKSON, Gen. ANDREW, President	United States . .	1828	Elected President	VII	359
JAY, JOHN	United States . .	1782	His Treaty with England . .	IV	354
JEFFERSON, THOMAS, Pres.	United States . .	1800	The Foundation of American Liberty. Foreign Affairs in His Administration. The Death of Jefferson and Adams	IV	379
JOHNSON, ANDREW	United States . .	1868	Quarrel with Congress	XII	95
JOUBERT, PIET	Transvaal	1901	Boer War	XII	299
KOSCIUSKO, Thaddeus	Poland	1794	Downfall of Poland	II	209
Kossuth, Louis	Hungary	1851	Embarks for United States . .	XI	139
Kruger, Paul	South Africa . .	1883	President of the Transvaal . .	X	385
LAFAYETTE, M ^r q ['] is de	France	1784	The National Guard	VI	83
LEE, RICHARD HENRY	United States . .	1776	Advocate of Independence . .	IV	329
LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, Pres.	United States . .	1861	The Greatness of Lincoln . .	VIII	5
Louis of Nassau	Holland	1560	War of Deliverance	XI	8
Lycurgus	Lacedæmon . . .	B.C. 846	Laconic Speech	I	29
MADISON, JAMES, Pres.	United States . .	1814	The Capture of Washington .	VII	334
Marcel, Etienne	France	1357	The Great Ordinance	VI	305
Marcellus, M. Claudius . .	Rome	B.C. 212	Capture of Syracuse	VI	186
Marius, Caius	Rome	B.C. 101	Consul for the Sixth Time . .	II	92
MARSHALL, JOHN	United States . .	1802	Chief Justice	XI	243
Mazarin, Cardinal	France	1643	Child-king's Bed of Justice . .	V	157
Medici, Lorenzo de	Italy	1469	The Florentine Despot	VI	314
Menschikoff, Prince	Russia	1813	Treaty with Persia	XII	17
Metternich, Clement	Austria	1825	Hungarian Revolt	XI	136
Mirabeau, Comte de	France	1790	Leader of National Assembly	IV	283
	France	1790	Mirabeau and Marie Antoinette	IV	293
MONROE, JAMES, President	United States . .	1823	The Monroe Doctrine	VII	343
MORRIS, ROBERT	United States . .	1781	Financier of the Revolution .	IV	337
McKINLEY, WILLIAM . . .	United States . .	1898	Spanish-American War	XII	225
NAPOLEON, 1st Consul	France	1802	His Statesmanship	II	5
Necker, Jacques	France	1789	The States-General and Na- tional Assembly	IV	309

PRESIDENTS, PATRIOTS, STATESMEN AND NATIONAL LEADERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
O'CONNELL, Daniel . . .	Ireland	1829	Entrance into Parliament . .	XI	233
OGLETHORPE, JAMES . .	America	1732	Foundation of Georgia	II	353
OLNEY, RICHARD	United States . .	1895	Venezuela Dispute	XII	146
PARNELL, Chas. Stewart	Ireland	1879	Irish Leader	XI	239
Peel, Sir Robert	England	1846	Corn Law Repeal	XI	197
PENN, WILLIAM	America	1682	Settlement of Pennsylvania .	V	257
Pericles	Athens	B.C. 430	Oration, "The True Glory of Athens"	I	109
Peter the Great	Russia	1700	The Civilizer of Russia . . .	VI	336
PIERCE, FRANKLIN	United States . .	1853	Fugitive Slave Law	XI	337
Pitt, William	England	1800	Refuses to Negotiate with France	IX	210
Pliny the Younger	Rome	A.D. 79	First Eruption of Vesuvius .	I	393
POLK, JAMES KNOX	United States . .	1845	Mexican War	XI	328
Pompey, Cneius, Consul .	Rome	B.C. 70	Flight and Death	III	78
Poniatowski, Count	Poland	1764	The Last King of Poland . .	IV	252
Pym, John	England	1640	Impeaches Strafford	XI	32
RALEIGH, Sir Walter . . .	England	1603	Eldorado, Death of Raleigh .	I	62
RANDALL, SAMUEL J. . . .	United States . .	1877	The Electoral Commission .	XII	127
REED, THOMAS B.	United States . .	1894	Speaker of the House	XII	146
Richelieu, Cardinal	France	1627	Siege of Rochelle	V	126
			The Prime Minister	V	137
			His Ambition	V	138
Robespierre, Maximilien .	France	1793	The Hypocrite Unmasked . .	IV	319
Russell, Lord John	England	1829	Repeal of Test Act	XI	234
SALISBURY, Lord	England	1885	Prime Minister	XII	311
Schamyl	Circassia	1850	Defeated by Alexander	XII	27
Scheurer-Kestner, M. . . .	France	1897	Dreyfus Affair	X	394
Schouvaloff, Count	Russia	1895	Governor of Warsaw	XII	48
SEWARD, WILLIAM H. . . .	United States . .	1865	His Diplomacy	VIII	46
SHERMAN, JOHN	United States . .	1897	Secretary of State	XII	187
Solon	Athens	B.C. 594	Constitution of Athens . . .	I	219
STANDISH, MILES	America	1620	Settlement of Plymouth . . .	II	337
STEPHENS, ALEXANDER H. .	United States . .	1878	Liberty and Union	IX	299
STEVENS, THADDEUS	United States . .	1868	Impeachment of Johnson . .	XII	110
STUYVESANT, Gov. PETER .	Holland and Am. .	1647	Governor of New Netherland .	II	367
Sulla, L. Cornelius	Rome	B.C. 80	His Constitutional Reforms .	III	54
Sully, Duke of	France	1601	Visit to Queen Elizabeth . .	VII	276
SUMNER, CHARLES	United States . .	1859	Abolition of Slavery	IX	283
TALLEYRAND, Prince	France	1815	His Statesmanship	IX	245
TAYLOR, ZACH., Pres't . .	United States . .	1848	Elected President	IX	265
Thiers, Adolphe	France	1870	The French Patriot	X	190
	France	1870	The Paris Commune	X	193
THURMAN, ALLEN G.	United States . .	1867	Senator	XII	119
TILDEN, SAMUEL J.	United States . .	1877	The Electoral Commission .	XII	127
TYLER, JOHN	United States . .	1840	Annexation of Texas	XI	321
VAN BUREN, MARTIN	United States . .	1837	Financial Distress	XI	307
Vane, Sir Harry	England	1662	Execution of	XI	46

PRESIDENTS, PATRIOTS, STATESMEN AND NATIONAL LEADERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
WALPOLE, Sir Robert	England	1730	The Peace Minister	IX	137
WASHINGTON, GEO.,	United States .	1787	Formation of the Constitution	VI	37
President	United States .	1783	Resignation as Commander-in-Chief	VI	44
	United States .	1783	Duty of States to the Union .	VI	45
	United States .	1789	His Inauguration	VI	46
	United States .		As Commander and President	VI	49
	United States .		His Foreign Policy	VI	55
	United States .		Jefferson's Estimate of Him .	VI	57
WEBSTER, DANIEL	United States .	1830	His Oratory	VII	387
Wentworth, Earl Strafford	England	1640	Star Chamber	XI	31
WILLIAMS, ROGER	America	1635	Settlement of Rhode Island .	II	346
WINTHROP, JOHN	America	1631	Colony of Massachusetts Bay	I	288
WIRT, WILLIAM	United States .	1831	Anti-Masonic Movement . . .	XII	82
Wolsey, Cardinal	England	1530	His Last Journey	VII	262

Famous Commanders.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ABERCROMBY	England	1796	Irish Rebellion	XI	184
Aguinaldo, Emilio . .	Philippine Isl'ds	1899	Philippine War	XII	235
Albuquerque, Alfonso de.	Portugal	1512	Capture of Goa	X	76
Alexander the Great . .	Macedon	B.C. 331	Battle of Arbela	I	17
Alfred the Great	England	A.D. 878	Victory over Guthrum	I	259
Alva, Duke of	Spain	1567	War in Holland	XI	8
Antiochus the Great . .	Syria	B.C. 190	His Defeat by the Romans .	V	72
Antony, Mark	Rome	B.C. 31	Battle of Actium	III	96
Artaxerxes	Persia	B.C. 401	Battle of Cunaxa	VII	45
Attila, King of the	Huns	A.D. 450	The Scourge of God	III	174
Aurengzebe, Emperor . .	Hindustan . . .	1686	The Rival Brothers	VIII	303
BABER, the Great Mogul	Hindustan . . .	1495	Founding of Mogul Empire .	VIII	296
Bayard, Chevalier . . .	France	1523	His Generous Character . . .	II	128
BEAUREGARD, Gen. P. G. T.	United States .	1861	Capture of Fort Sumter . . .	VIII	195
Belisarius	Rome	A.D. 540	Capture of Ravenna	VII	125
	Rome	A.D. 540	The Blind Beggar	VII	133
Blücher, Marshal von . .	Prussia	1815	Campaign of Waterloo . . .	VII	293
Boisot, Admiral	Holland	1573	Deliverance of Leyden	XI	10
BOLIVAR, Gen. SIMON . .	Venezuela . . .	1810	The Liberator	IX	391
Buller, Sir Redvers . . .	England	1899	South African War	XII	308
Bougainville, Admiral . .	France	1767	The Eden of the South Seas	V	288
Bruce, Robert	Scotland	1314	Battle of Bannockburn	VI	294
CÆSAR, Caius Julius . .	Rome	B.C. 48	Battle of Pharsalus	III	5
Charlemagne, Emperor	France	A.D. 800	His Coronation	V	5
Charles Martel	Austrasia	A.D. 732	Battle of Tours	I	39
Charles the Bold	Burgundy	1476	Invasion of Switzerland . . .	I	126
Charles V, Emperor . . .	Germany	1519	Spanish Rule in Germany . .	IX	144
Charles XII	Sweden	1700	Battle of Narva	II	267

FAMOUS COMMANDERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
Cid, The	Spain	1060	His Romantic Career	VI	243
Clive, Lord	India	1756	The Black Hole of Calcutta	VIII	317
Columbus, Christopher	Spain	1492	Landing of Columbus	II	143
	Spain	1500	Columbus in Chains	II	150
Condé, The Great	France	1650	Battle of Rocroy	V	169
Cornwallis, Lord	England	1781	Defeat in Virginia	VI	150
Cortez, Hernando	Spain	1519	Conquest of Mexico	II	175
Cromwell, Oliver	England	1645	Battle of Naseby	I	137
CUSTER, Gen. G. A.	United States	1876	His Last Battle	X	250
Cyrus the Great	Persia	B.C. 538	Capture of Babylon	I	100
DARIUS, King	Persia	B.C. 518	Conquests and Statesmanship	I	122
DECATUR, Commodore					
STEPHEN	United States	1803	War in Tripoli	XI	268
DEWEY, Admiral GEORGE	United States	1898	Battle of Manila	XII	240
Du Guesclin, Bertrand	France	1372	The Free Companies	IV	210
Dundee, Viscount	Scotland	1677	Civil War	XI	74
EDWARD III.	England	1346	Battle of Crecy	I	55
	England	1356	Battle of Poitiers	I	58
Epaminondas	Thebes	B.C. 371	Battle of Leuctra	I	33
Eugene, Prince of Savoy	Austria	1716	Capture of Belgrade	XI	127
FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas	England	1642	Battle of Marston Moor	XI	33
FARRAGUT, Admiral	United States	1862	His Naval Fights	VIII	204
	United States	1862	The River Fight	VIII	207
	United States	1863	Fight in Mobile Bay	VIII	211
Frederick the Great	Prussia	1741	Battle of Mollwitz	IV	15
	Prussia	1757	The Four Battles	IV	37
	Prussia	1760	Battle of Torgau	IV	43
Frederic William, the Great Elector	Germany	1672	Battle of Fehrbellin	IV	59
GARCIA, Gen. Calixto	Cuba	1898	Spanish War	XII	203
Garibaldi, Giuseppe	Italy	1867	Defeated at Mentana . . [toga	IX	337
GATES, Gen. HORATIO	United States	1777	Burgoyne's Surrender at Sara-	VI	70
Gomez, Gen. Maximo	Cuba	1898	Spanish War	XII	204
Godfrey of Bouillon	France	1099	Siege of Jerusalem	IV	120
Gonsalvo de Cordova	Spain	1503	Crossing of the Garigliano	III	222
Gordon, Gen. Charles G.	England	1884	Entry into Khartoum	IX	381
Gortchakof, Michael, Prince	Russia	1807	Battle of Friedland	XII	10
GRANT, Gen. U. S.	United States	1861	His Great Life-work	VIII	57
GREENE, Gen. NATHANIEL	United States	1776	Battle of Guilford Court-house	I	181
Gustavus Adolphus	Sweden	1632	Battle of Lutzen	V	208
Gustavus Vasa	Sweden	1537	Rising of the Peasants	V	198
Guzman the Good	Spain	1294	The Father's Sacrifice	VII	145
HANNIBAL	Carthage	B.C. 216	Battle of Cannæ	V	43
Haroun al Raschid	Persia	A.D. 800	Haroun and Charlemagne	V	34
Henry V	England	1415	Battle of Agincourt	VII	204
Hermann (Arminius)	Germany	A.D. 9	Battle of Teutoberger-Wald	I	76
JACKSON, Gen. ANDREW	United States	1815	Battle of New Orleans	VII	366
JACKSON, Gen. STONE- WALL	United States	1861	His Last Battle	VIII	168
Jenghis Khan, Emperor of Mogul	Mogul	1206	His Conquests	IV	178

FAMOUS COMMANDERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
John of Austria	Austria	1571	Battle of Lepaton	IX	157
JOHNSTON, Gen. A. S. . .	United States . .	1861	His Last Campaign	VIII	184
JONES, PAUL	America	1776	The "Bon Homme Richard" . .	VI	117
KEARNY, Gen. PHILIP . .	United States . .	1845	Conquest of California	X	333
Khalifa, The	Africa	1898	Defeated by Kitchener	X	392
Kitchener, Lord	Africa	1898	Takes Khartoum	X	392
Kosciusko, Gen.	Poland	1789	Downfall of Poland	II	209
LAFAYETTE, M'rqu's de .	France	1776	Battle of Monmouth	VI	83
LEE, Gen. ROBERT E. .	United States . .	1861	His Report of the Gettysburg Campaign	VIII	147
	United States . .	1865	Farewell to His Army	VIII	166
Leonidas, King	Lacedæmon . .	B.C. 480	Thermopylæ, Defence of Pass	I	225
McCLELLAN, Gen. G. B. .	United States . .	1861	His Military Achievements . .	X	256
MacMahon, Marshal .	France	1859	Italian Campaign	XII	78
Marcellus, M. Claudius . .	Rome	B.C. 212	Capture of Syracuse	VI	186
MARION, Gen. FRANCIS . .	United States . .	1776	The "Swamp Fox"	I	201
Marius, Caius	Rome	B.C. 101	Defeat of Cimri	II	92
Marlborough, Duke of . .	England	1704	Battle of Blenheim	IX	110
Masséna, Marshal	France	1800	Siege of Genoa	V	322
MEADE, Gen. G. G.	United States . .	1861	His Victories	X	261
Mehemet, Ali, Pasha . . .	Egypt	1832	Breaks with the Sultan	XII	19
MILES, Gen. NELSON. A. .	United States . .	1898	Spanish American War	XII	222
Miltiades	Athens	B.C. 490	Battle of Marathon	I	301
Mithradates	Pontus	B.C. 112	His Campaigns	III	68
Mohammed	Arabia	A.D. 622	The Hegira	VIII	263
Moltke, Count von	Germany	1870	Battle of Sedan	IX	351
Montcalm, Marquis de . .	France & Canada .	1759	Battle of Quebec	III	339
Montfort, Simon de	England	1265	The Battle of Evesham	VI	267
Moore, Sir John	England	1809	Death at Corunna	XI	187
MORGAN, Gen. DANIEL . .	United States . .	1776	Battle of Cowpens	I	193
NAPOLÉON Bonaparte . . .	France	1796	First Italian Campaign	II	20
	France	1805	Battle of Austerlitz	II	40
	France	1815	Battle of Waterloo	II	61
Nelson, Lord	England	1805	Battle of Trafalgar	VI	366
Ney, Marshal	France	1794	The Bravest of the Brave . . .	VI	357
Nicias	Athens	B.C. 413	Defeat at Syracuse	VI	170
OSMAN, Pasha	Turkey	1878	Siege of Pelvna	X	296
PAUSANIAS	Lacedæmon . .	B.C. 479	Battle of Plataiai	I	311
Pelissier, Marshal . . .	France	1854	Capture of Sebastopol	X	281
Pericles	Athens	B.C. 460	"True Glory of Athens." . . .	I	109
PERRY, Com. OLIVER H. .	United States . .	1812	Battle of Lake Erie	XI	276
Peter the Great	Russia	1700	The Civilizer of Russia	VI	336
Phillip II, King	Macedon	B.C. 360	The Master of Greece	V	6.
Phocion	Athens	B.C. 376	His Sayings	I	251
Pizarro, Francisco	Peru	1510	Siege of Cuzco	II	161
Pompey, Cneius Pompeius .	Rome	B.C. 90	His Deeds in the East	III	78

FAMOUS COMMANDERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
PORTER, Com. DAVID . .	United States .	1813	Cruise of the <i>Essex</i>	XI	374
PORTER, Adm'l DAVID D.	United States .	1861	Capture of Fort Fisher	XI	376
PUTNAM, Gen. ISRAEL . .	United States .	1775	Battle of Bunker Hill	I	171
Pyræhus	Epirus	B.C. 300	His Conquests	II	77
ROCHAMBEAU, Count Roberts, Frederick S. Lord	France and U.S. England	1781 1878	Surrender of Yorktown	VI	132
Roger, Count	Sicily	1060	Afghan War	X	377
Rollo, Duke	Normandy . . .	A.D. 912	Norman Conquest of Sicily . .	VI	251
ROOSEVELT, Col. THEO. N.	United States .	1898	Northmen in France	III	135
Rudolf of Hapsburg . . .	Germany	1250	Spanish-American War	XII	277
			King of the Romans	XI	23
SALADIN, Sultan	Egypt	1183	Sieges of Jerusalem and Joppa .	IV	164
SAMPSON, Rear Admiral WILLIAM T.	United States .	1898	Destruction of Cervera's Fleet .	XII	220
SCHLEY, Rear Admiral WINFIELD S.	United States .	1898	Destruction of Cervera's Fleet .	XII	220
Scipio Africanus, Major .	Rome	B.C. 218	Victory over Hannibal	I	386
Scipio Africanus, Minor .	Rome	B.C. 147	Destruction of Carthage	V	83
SCOTT, Gen. WINFIELD .	United States .	1847	Capture of Mexico	IX	254
Sertorius, Caius	Rome	B.C. 80	His Strife with Pompey	II	108
SHERIDAN, Gen. P. H. . .	United States .	1861	Battle of Five Forks	VIII	126
SHERMAN, Gen. W. T. . .	United States .	1861	The Atlanta Campaign	VIII	106
SICKLES, Gen. DANIEL E.	United States .	1861	Civil War	XII	103
Skobelev, Gen. M. D. . .	Russia	1878	Siege of Plevna	X	299
Sobieski, Gen. John . . .	Poland	1683	Turks Driven from Vienna . . .	IV	237
Soliman the Magnificent .	Turkey	1526	Defeats Hungarians	XI	134
Soult, Marshal	France	1809	Battle of Corunna	XI	187
STANDISH, Capt. MILES .	America	1620	Settlement of Plymouth	II	337
STEUBEN, BARON	United States .	1776	His War Tactics	VI	106
Sulla, L. Cornelius	Rome	B.C. 100	Siege of Athens	III	54
TAMERLANE, Con- queror of	Asia	1401	Capture of Damascus	IV	185
TAYLOR, Gen. ZACHARY .	United States .	1847	Battle of Buena Vista	IX	265
TECUMSEH, Indian Chief .	United States .	1813	Battle of Tippecanoe	XI	311
Themistocles	Athens	B.C. 480	Battle of Salamis	I	232
THOMAS, Gen. G. H. . . .	United States .	1861	His Military Career	X	265
Turenne, Marshal	France	1658	Siege of Dunkirk	V	179
VERCINGETORIX	Gaul	B.C. 51	Siege of Gergovia	III	39
WALLACE, Sir William Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland	Scotland Bohemia	1297 1632	Battles of Stirling and Falkirk .	VI	285
WASHINGTON, Gen. GEO.	United States .	1776	Restored to Command	V	221
	United States .	1755	Braddock's Defeat	VI	5
	United States .	1776	Battle of Trenton	VI	15
	United States .	1777	Battle of Princeton	VI	23
	United States .		Battle of Washington	VI	30
	United States .		Washington as Commander . .	VI	49
WAYNE, Gen. ANTHONY .	United States .	1776	Capture of Stony Point	I	295
Wellington, Duke of . . .	England	1799	Battle of Assaye	VII	300
	England	1814	In the Peninsula	VII	311

FAMOUS COMMANDERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
Wolfe, Gen. James	Eng. and Canada	1758	The Hero of Louisbourg . . .	III	330
Wolseley, Gen. Garnet J.	England	1882	Egyptian Campaign	X	374
WOOD, Gen. LEONARD . .	United States .	1898	Spanish-American War . . .	XII	280
XENOPHON	Athens	B. C. 401	Grecian Liberty	VII	71

Conquerors, Kings and Queens.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ADRIAN (Hadrian) Emp.	Rome	A.D. 117	The Imperial Tourist	IX	41
Agesilaus, King.	Sparta	B.C. 387	The Peace of Antalcidas . . .	VII	54
Alaric King of the	Visigoths	A.D. 398	Conquests in Italy	III	165
Alexander the Great . . .	Macedon	B.C. 331	Battle of Arbela	I	17
Alexander I	Russia	1814	Entry into Paris	XII	8
Alexander II	Russia	1855	Crimean War	XII	27
Alexander III	Russia	1881	Expulsion of the Jews	XII	40
Alfred the Great	England	A.D. 871	His Work as Ruler	I	259
Anne, Queen	England	1702	Union of England & Scotland	IX	126
Anne Boleyn	England	1533	Her Coronation	VII	254
Antiochus the Great . . .	Syria	B.C. 200	Defeat by the Romans	V	72
Artaxerxes, King	Persia	B.C. 401	Battle of Cunaxa	VII	45
Attila King of the	Huns	A.D. 433	The Scourge of God	III	174
Augustus, Cæsar, Emp. . .	Rome	B.C. 27	The First Roman Emperor . .	VI	200
Aurelian, Emperor	Rome	A.D. 271	Expulsion of Alemanni	VII	95
Aurelius, Marcus, Emp. .	Rome	A.D. 176	The Imperial Philosopher . .	II	256
Aurengzebe, Emperor . . .	Hindustan	1658	The Rival Brothers	VIII	303
BABER, Mohammed, Emperor	Hindustan	1495	Founding of the Mogul Empire	VIII	296
Bernadotte, Marshal . . .	Sweden	1810	King of Sweden	XI	130
CÆSAR, C. Julius	Rome	B.C. 55	Invasion of Britain	III	16
Canute, King	Rome	48	Battle of Pharsalus	III	32
Capet, Hugh, King	England	1017	Letter to People of England .	III	129
Capet, Hugh, King	France	A.D. 987	Kingship Established	I	379
Catherine of Braganza . .	England	1662	Queen to Charles II	XI	49
Catherine II, Empress . .	Russia	1762	Partition of Poland	II	192
Charlemagne, Emperor . .	France	A.D. 800	His Coronation	V	5
Charles I	England	1625	Beheaded, 1649	XI	34
Charles II	England	1660	Act of Uniformity	XI	48
Charles V, Emperor	Germany	1519	Spanish Rule in Germany . .	IX	144
Charles XII, King	Sweden	1700	Battle of Narva	II	267
Christina, Queen	Sweden	1650	Her Abdication	IX	173
Cleopatra, Queen	Egypt	B.C. 43	Antony's Dilemma	III	114
Clovis King of the	Franks	A.D. 496	Embraces Christianity	VI	235
Constantine, Emperor . . .	Rome	A.D. 306	Standard of the Cross	VII	113
Cortez, Hernando	Spain	1500	Conquest of Mexico	II	175
Cunigunda	Bohemia	1278	War against Rudolf	XI	28
Cyrus the Great, Emperor	Persia	B.C. 538	Capture of Babylon	I	100

CONQUERORS, KINGS AND QUEENS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
DARIUS, King	Persia	B.C. 518	Conqueror and Statesman . .	I	122
EDWARD I	England	1272	Expulsion of the Jews	VI	273
Edward III	England	1346	Battle of Crecy	I	55
Edward VII	England	1902	Coronation	XII	319
Elizabeth, Queen	England	1559	The People's Sovereign . . .	VIII	220
Emmanuel, Victor	Italy	1859	The Italian Campaign	IX	329
FERDINAND & Isabella	Spain	1479	Capture of Granada	III	208
Ferdinand V	Austria	1847	Hungarian Revolution	XI	136
Francis I	France	1515	Captured at Pavia	II	115
Francis I	Austria	1804	Hungarian Revolt . [stitution	XI	134
Francis Joseph	Austria	1848	Abolit'n of the Hungarian Con-	XI	137
Frederic Barbarossa, Emp.	Germany	1152	The Mediæval Cæsar	IX	70
Frederic the Great, King	Prussia	1740	His Campaigns	IV	5
Frederic II, Emperor	Germany	1210	The Unbelieving Crusader . .	IX	80
Frederic William, the Great Elector	Brandenburg	1680	Emergence of Brandenburg . .	IV	59
GEORGE III	England	1775	His Oppression of the U. S . .	IX	202
Godfrey, King of Jeru- salem	France	1099	Siege of Jerusalem	IV	120
Gustavus Adolphus, King	Sweden	1611	Battle of Lutzen	V	208
Gustavus Vasa, King	Sweden	1521	Rising of the Peasants	V	198
HADRIAN (Adrian), Em- peror	Rome	A.D. 117	The Imperial Tourist	IX	41
Hannibal	Carthage	B.C. 216	Battle of Cannæ	V	43
Harold, King	England	1066	Banishment of Godwin	II	278
Haroun al Raschid	Persia	A.D. 800	Haroun and Charlemagne . . .	V	34
Henry I	England	1100	A Saxon Bride	IV	146
Henry II	England	1154	Murder of A'Becket . [Silent	III	195
Henry II	France	1559	Interview with William the . .	XI	6
Henry III	England	1220	The Baron's War . . . [bury	VI	261
Henry IV	England	1399	The Two Camps at Shrews- . .	VII	194
Henry V	England	1413	Battle of Agincourt	VII	204
Henry VI	England	1430	Margaret of Anjou	VII	211
Henry VII	England	1485	Perkin Warbeck	VII	228
Henry VIII	England	1509	Field of the Cloth of Gold . .	VII	237
Henry the Fowler	Germany	A.D. 919	Father of Germany	IV	71
Henry IV, Emperor	Germany	1050	March to Rome	IV	76
Henry V, Emperor	Germany	1105	Investitures Dispute	IV	137
Henry IV of Navarre	France	1572	War of the League	III	153
Henry the Navigator	Portugal	1415	The Mariner's Compass	X	55
Henry of Trastamare	Spain	1369	The Royal Fratricide	IV	205
Heraclius, Emperor	Byzantium	A.D. 627	The Downfall of Chosroes . .	VII	135
ISABELLA of Castile	Spain	1472	Inquisition Establ'd in Spain	III	208
JAMES I	England	1605	The Gunpowder Plot	IX	87
James II	England	1685	Monmouth's Rebellion	XI	61
Jehan, Shah	Hindostan	1627	The Taj-Mahal	VIII	311
Jenghis Khan, Emperor of	Mogul	1206	His Conquests	IV	178
John, King	England	1199	Magna Charta	V	239

CONQUERORS, KINGS AND QUEENS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
Joseph II, Emperor . . .	Germany . . .	1765	The Germanic League . . .	IX	193
Josephine, Empress . . .	France . . .	1804	Her Coronation . . .	V	307
Jugurtha, Usurper . . .	Numidia . . .	B.C. 117	Captured by Marius . . .	V	99
Justinian, Emperor . . .	Rome . . .	A.D. 540	Reform of Roman Law . . .	I	339
KARL XV	Sweden . . .	1859	Religious Liberty . . .	XI	132
Katharine of Aragon .	England . . .	1527	Divorce of Henry VIII . .	VII	247
LEONIDAS, King . . .	Lacedæmon . .	B.C. 480	The Spartan's Oath . . .	I	225
Leopold II.	Austria . . .	1790	Favors Hungary . . .	XI	134
Louis IX (Saint) . . .	France . . .	1226	His Egyptian Crusade . . .	I	361
Louis XI	France . . .	1461	Visits Charles the Bold . .	IV	220
Louis XIV	France . . .	1661	Campaign in Belgium . . .	II	294
Louis XV	France . . .	1723	His Career . . .	I	320
Louis XVI	France . . .	1775	His Deposition and Execution	III	300
Louisa, Queen	Prussia . . .	1797	Interview with Napoleon . .	IX	235
MARGARET of Angou-					
leme	France . . .	1530	Favors John Calvin . . .	XI	116
Margaret of Parma . . .	Holland . . .	1559	Regent of the Netherlands .	XI	6
Maria Christina, Regent .	Spain . . .	1898	Spanish-American War . . .	XII	207
Maria Theresa	Austria . . .	1739	Diplomacy of Kaunitz . . .	IX	181
Marie Antoinette	France . . .	1774	Her Execution . . .	III	326
Marie Louise, Empress . .	France . . .	1810	Marriage with Napoleon . .	V	336
Marie d' Medici, Queen . .	France . . .	1600	The Queen's Foster Sister . .	VII	270
Mary, Queen	England . . .	1553	Her Love Disdained . . .	III	250
Mary Queen of	Scots . . .	1559	Darnley and Rizzio . . .	II	233
Masinissa, King	Numidia . . .	B.C. 206	His Long Reign . . .	V	94
Matilda of Flanders . . .	England . . .	1066	Marriage to Wm. the Norman	II	286
Mithradates, King	Pontus . . .	B.C. 120	His Death . . .	III	68
Mohammed II, Sultan . .	Turkey . . .	1451	Conquest of Constantinople .	VIII	279
NAPOLEON, Emperor .	France . . .	1804	Proclaimed Emperor . . .	II	31
Napoleon III	France . . .	1851	The Coup d'Etat . . .	IX	306
Nero, Emperor	Rome . . .	A.D. 54	The Burning of Rome . . .	VIII	365
Nicholas I, Czar	Russia . . .	1826	War with Turkey . . .	XII	7
Nicholas II, Czar	Russia . . .	1894	Peace Proposals . . .	XII	50
OSCAR I.	Sweden . . .	1844	Civil Reforms . . .	XI	132
Oscar II	Sweden . . .	1872	Internal Reforms . . .	XI	132
Ottocar	Bohemia . . .	1278	Rudolf's Wars . . .	XI	28
PETER the Cruel, King .	Castile . . .	1349	Battle of Navaretta . . .	IV	194
Peter the Great	Russia . . .	1689	The Civilizer of Russia . .	VI	336
Philip II, King	Macedon . . .	B.C. 359	The Master of Greece . . .	V	61
PHILIP, King, of Pokanoket	America . . .	1657	King Philip's War . . .	V	300
Philip II	Spain . . .	1555	The Invincible Armada . . .	III	234
Pizarro, Francisco	Peru . . .	1529	Siege of Cuzco . . .	II	161
Poniatowski, King	Poland . . .	1764	Last King of Poland . . .	IV	252
Ptolemy I, Soter, King . .	Egypt . . .	B.C. 323	Successors of Alexander . .	VII	78
Ptolemy II, Philadelphus,					
King	Egypt . . .	B.C. 283	The Septuagint . . .	VII	84
Pyrrhus, King	Epirus . . .	B.C. 300	His Conquests . . .	II	77

CONQUERORS, KINGS AND QUEENS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
RAMSES II, King . . .	Egypt.	B.C. 1490	His Great Career	I	211
Richard I	England	1189	Cœur-de-Lion in Holy Land .	IV	152
Richard II	England	1377	Wat Tyler's Death	VII	187
Richard III	England	1485	Battle of Bosworth	VII	220
Roger, King	Sicily	1060	Norman Conquest of Sicily .	VI	251
Romulus, King	Rome	B.C. 753	The Founding of Rome . . .	I	83
SALADIN, Sultan . . .	Egypt.	1174	Siege of Jerusalem	IV	164
Semiramis, Queen . . .	Assyria	B.C. 810	Vul-lush and Semiramis . . .	VII	36
Sobieski, King John . .	Poland	1674	Turks Driven from Vienna . .	IV	237
TAMERLANE, Con- queror	of Asia	1370	Capture of Damascus	IV	185
Tiberius, Emperor . . .	Rome	A.D. 14	Rise and Fall of Sejanus . .	VIII	355
Titus, Emperor	Rome	A.D. 70	Destruction of Jerusalem . .	IX	13
Trajan, Emperor	Rome	A.D. 100	Encounters with Christians .	IX	31
VESPASIAN, Emperor	Rome	A.D. 69	Defeat of Vitellius	IX	5
Victor Emanuel, King	Italy	1859	His Italian Campaign of 1859	IX	332
Victoria	England	1837	Accession	XII	315
WILLIAM the Con- queror	England	1066	The Battle of Hastings	I	47
William I, Emperor . . .	Germany	1870	Head of New German Empire	IX	344
William II	Germany	1898	Pilgrimage to Palestine . . .	X	365
William II, Rufus	England	1087	Death of the Red King	III	144
William of Orange	England	1689	Made King of England	IX	99
XERXES I, King	Persia	B.C. 485	His Flight	I	228
ZENOBBIA, Queen of the	East	A.D. 266	Palmyra	VII	103

Explorers and Travellers.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ARCTIC Explorers: } Bering, Cook, Bar- row, Franklin, Ross, Parry, Richardson, Back, Rae, Young, GRINNELL, DE HA- VEN, GRIFFITH, KANE, HAYES, HALL, SCHWATKA, DE LONG, BERRY, GREE- LEY, Nordenskjöld, PEARY, Jackson, Nansen, Andrée. }	Denmark, U. States, England, Norway, Germany,	1553 to 1895	Polar Expeditions	X	114

EXPLORERS AND TRAVELLERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
BALBOA, Vasco Nunez de	Spain	1510	Discovery of the Pacific . . .	X	68
BOONE, DANIEL	United States . .	1775	Settlement of Kentucky . . .	XI	258
Bougainville, Admiral . .	France	1766	The Eden of the South Seas	V	291
CARTIER, Jacques . . .	France & Canada	1534	Discovery of Canada	III	181
Champlain, Samuel de	France & Canada	1600	Discovery of Lake Champlain	I	164
Columbus, Christopher . .	Spain	1492	Discovery of America	II	134
	Spain	1492	His Landing	II	143
	Spain	1492	Columbus in Chains	II	150
Cook, Captain James . . .	England	1755	His Last Voyage	V	278
DE SOTO, Ferdinand . .	Spain	1537	Discovery of the Mississippi	I	70
Drake, Sir Francis . .	England	1565	At San Francisco and St. Au- gustine	I	268
ERICSON, Leif	Norway	A.D. 1000	Visits the American Coast . .	I	105
FRANKLIN, Sir John . .	England	1845	His Polar Explorations . . .	X	114
FREMONT, JOHN C. . .	United States . .	1843	Crosses the Continent	X	330
GAMA, Vasco da	Portugal	1497	The Cape of Good Hope . . .	IX	364
GRANT, Gen., U. S. . .	United States . .	1878	Tour Round the World	XII	60
HENRY, the Navigator	Portugal	1415	The Mariner's Compass . . .	X	55
HUDSON, HENRY . . .	England & Am.	1607	Discovery of Hudson River .	I	150
Humboldt, A. von	Germany	1790	His Various Travels	X	40
LI HUNG CHANG . . .	China	1806	Tour Round the World	XII	62
Livingstone, David . .	Scotland	1850	His Life-work in Africa . . .	X	100
	Scotland	1873	His Last Journey	X	104
MAGELLAN, Fernando de	Portugal	1511	The Partition of the World .	X	62
Marquette, Father	France	1666	Explores the Mississippi . . .	I	277
NORDENSKJOLD, Baron	Sweden	1878	Makes the Northeast Passage.	X	120
POLO, Marco	Venice	1271	Visits Kublai Khan	X	94
PONCE DE LEON	America	1493	The Fountain of Youth	V	294
RALEIGH, Sir Walter . .	England	1584	Explores and Settles Virginia.	I	62
Rhodes, Cecil	South Africa . .	1884	English Expansion	X	378
Ross, Sir James C. . . .	England	1840	Antarctic Regions	X	354
SMITH, Capt. JOHN . . .	Eng. & America	1606	Settlement of Virginia . . .	III	288
STANLEY, HENRY M. . .	United States . .	1870	His African Explorations . .	X	108
	United States . .	1870	The Finding of Livingstone .	X	110
TAYLOR, BAYARD . . .	United States . .	1846	Views Afoot	XI	380
WALKER, JOSEPH R. . .	United States . .	1845	Fremont's Expedition	X	332
WILKES, Capt. C. . . .	United States . .	1840	South Pacific	X	354

Scientists, Inventors and Discoverers.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ARCHIMEDES	Sicily	B.C. 220	His Scientific Genius	VI	195
Arkwright, Sir Richard	England	1769	Invention of Spinning Frame	III	372
BACON, Roger	England	1265	Invention of Gunpowder . . .	X	158
CAXTON, William . . .	England	1477	First Printing Press in England	V	391
DARWIN, Charles R. .	England	1859	The Origin of Species	X	46
EDISON, THOMAS A. .	United States .	1870	The Electric Light	X	318
ERICSSON, JOHN . . .	United States .	1862	The <i>Monitor</i> and the <i>Merrimac</i>	X	225
FITCH, JOHN	United States .	1787	First Steamboat on Delaware.	II	373
FULTON, ROBERT . . .	United States .	1807	First Steamboat on Hudson .	II	383
Flamsteed, John	England	1660	Astronomer	XI	72
GALILEO, Galilei . . .	Italy	1610	Invention of the Telescope .	X	23
Gutenberg, Johann . .	Germany	1450	Invention of Printing	V	383
HALLEY, Edmund . . .	England	1719	Discovers Comet	XI	72
Harvey, William . . .	England	1619	Discovers Circulation of Blood	XI	72
Humboldt, A. von . . .	Germany	1845	"The Unity of Nature" . . .	X	40
LESSEPS, Ferdinand de	France	1867	The Suez Canal	IX	372
MAUPERTUIS, P. L. M.					
de	France	1750	Mathematics	XI	151
MORSE, S. F. B.	United States .	1832	Invention of the Telegraph .	IX	270
NEWTON, Sir Isaac . .	England	1687	Published the "Principia" .	X	32
PALISSY, the Potter . .	France	1560	Colors in Pottery	IV	392
Paré, Ambrose	France	1545	On Gunshot Wounds	X	168
Pasteur, Louis	France	1870	On Inoculation	X	171
STEPHENSON, George	England	1829	The First Locomotive	II	393
WATT, James	Scotland	1769	Invention of Steam Engine .	III	363
WHITNEY, ELI	United States .	1793	Invention of the Cotton Gin .	X	316

Philosophers and Historians.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ABELARD, Pierre . . .	France	1120	The Mediæval Rationalist . .	V	112
Alcuin, Abbot	Eng. and France	A.D. 780	The Abbot of Tours	V	26
Aristotle	Greece	B.C. 350	On the Ideal State	X	12
Aurelius, M., Emperor .	Rome	A.D. 176	The Imperial Philosopher . .	II	256
BACON, Lord	England	1605	On the Vicissitude of Things	X	17
BANCROFT, GEORGE . .	United States .	1834	Begins his History of the U.S.	X	313
Burnet, Bishop Gilbert .	England	1685	Monmouth's Rebellion	XI	63

PHILOSOPHERS AND HISTORIANS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
CONFUCIUS	China	B.C. 550	Maxims	XI	389
D'ALEMBERT, Jean le R.	France	A.D. 1755	The Encyclopédie	XI	152
Diderot, D.	France	1750	The Encyclopédie	XI	153
EMERSON, RALPH W.	United States .	1836	His Essays and Poems	X	309
Evelyn, John	England	1666	Diary	XI	54
Erasmus, Desiderius . .	Holland	1492	Annotations	XI	113
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN	United States .	1732	His Various Works	I	346
GIBBON, Edward . . .	England	1776	History of Rome	XI	175
Goethe, J. Wolfgang von	Germany	1800	His Literary Genius	V	365
GREELEY, HORACE . . .	United States .	1860	American Conflict	XI	378
HERODOTUS	Greece	B.C. 450	His Historical Work	X	293
Humboldt, A. von . . .	Germany	1800	"Cosmos"	X	40
Hume, David	England	1760	History of England	XI	169
IRVING, WASHINGTON	United States .	1807	His Historical and Miscellaneous Writings	X	306
KOBO	Japan	1852	Devises Alphabet	XI	368
LEIBNITZ, G. W. Baron von	Germany	1700	Mathematics	XI	153
MACAULAY, Thomas B.	England	1848	History of England	XI	220
MAHAN, A. T., Capt.	United States .	1898	Sea Power in History	XII	178
Mencius	China	B.C. 371	Moral Maxims	XI	394
OWEN, ROBERT DALE .	United States .	1841	Communist	XI	380
PLATO	Greece	B.C. 360	"The Nature of Man"	X	5
Pliny the Elder	Rome	A.D. 70	His "Natural History"	I	393
Pliny the Younger . . .	Rome	A.D. 100	His "Letters"	I	395
RALEIGH, Sir Walter .	England	1614	His "History of the World" . .	I	62
REID, WHITELAW . .	United States .	1898	Editor of "New York Tribune"	XII	224
SARPI, Paolo	Italy	1619	History of Council of Trent .	XI	110
Scott, Sir Walter . . .	Scotland	1815	"The Porteus Mob"	III	384
Seneca, L. Annæus . . .	Rome	B.C. 54	In Exile	IX	25
Socrates	Athens	B.C. 424	His Last Address to the Athenians	VII	62
Solon	Athens	B.C. 594	Promulgates Laws	I	219
THUCYDIDES	Greece	B.C. 410	His Historical Writings	X	294
XENOPHON	Athens	B.C. 390	Grecian Liberty	VII	71

Artists and Composers.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ANGELO, Michael . . .	Italy	1492	His Sculptures, Paintings, Poems, and Architecture.	II	222
BEETHOVEN, L. von .	Germany	1787	The Deaf Musician	VIII	394
GIOTTO	Italy	1296	His Paintings	VII	181
JONES, Inigo	England	1650	Designed Whitehall	XI	72
LEONARDO da Vinci .	Italy	1480	His Paintings	X	162
MOZART, J. C. W. A. .	Germany	1766	His "Requiem"	VIII	387
PALISSY the Potter . .	France	1560	His Art-work	IV	392
Phidias	Athens	B.C. 480	His Sculptures	I	119
RAPHAEL d'Urbino . .	Italy	1500	Raphael and Michael Angelo	VIII	379
Rubens, Peter Paul . .	Holland	1630	Descent from the Cross . . .	XI	72
Rupert, Prince	England	1640	Invented Mezzotint Engraving	XI	72
VANDYKE, Anthony .	England	1640	Portrait of Charles I.	XI	72
WREN, Sir Christopher	England	1666	Built St. Paul's Cathedral . .	XI	72

Poets, Dramatists and Novelists.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ABULFAZI	India	1590	Akbar's Reign	XI	124
Æschylus	Greece	B.C. 480	"The Battle of Salamis" . .	X	122
Angelo, Michael	Italy	1492	Sonnet to Vittoria Colonna .	II	232
Ariosto	Italy	1500	"Angelico and Medoro" . .	X	135
Aristophanes	Greece	B.C. 423	"The School of Socrates" .	X	128
BEACONSFIELD, Lord	England	1832	His Novels	X	215
Bulwer-Lytton, Sir Edward	England	1861	His Novels	XI	218
CAMOENS, Luis de . .	Portugal	1560	His Life and Writings	X	83
Cervantes, Saavedra M.	Spain	1605	Don Quixote's First Battle .	X	150
CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM	United States .	1852	His Novels	XI	380

POETS, DRAMATISTS AND NOVELISTS.—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
DANTE, Alighieri . . .	Italy	1290 to 1321	The Divine Comedy	VII	155
	Italy		The Christianity of Dante	VII	169
	Italy		What is Love?	VII	170
	Italy		The Loveliness of Beatrice	VII	170
	Italy		The Exile's Message to Florence	VII	171
	Italy		Francesca da Rimini	VII	173
	Italy		The Celestial Pilot	VII	175
	Italy		Triumphs of the Roman Eagle	VII	176
	Italy		The Rose of Heaven	VII	178
EMERSON, RALPH W.	United States .		Poet-Philosopher	X	309
FÉNELON of Cambray	France	1700	" <i>Télémaque</i> "	V	188
GOETHE, J. Wolfgang von	Germany	1772 to 1831	The Erl-King	V	375
	Germany		The Treasure-Seeker	V	376
	Germany		Iphigenia in Tauris	V	377
	Germany		Faust	V	379
HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL	United States .	1850	The Scarlet Letter	XI	339
Horace, Quintus Flaccus .	Italy	B.C. 30	On Virgil's Voyage to Athens	VI	228
	Italy	B.C. 30	The Poet's Choice	VI	230
	Italy	B.C. 30	To the Romans	VI	231
	Italy	B.C. 30	The Reconciliation	VI	232
	Italy	B.C. 30	Story of his Education	VI	233
Hugo, Victor	France	1830 to 1885	The Exile of St. Helena	IX	326
	France		One Year after the Coup d'Etat	IX	327
	France		Mourning	IX	327
IRVING, WASHINGTON	United States .	1807	"The Sketch Book"	X	306
KEY, FRANCIS SCOTT . .	United States .	1812	Star Spangled Banner	XI	345
LONGFELLOW, HENRY W.	United States .	1839	Poems		
MILTON, John	England	1674	Paradise Lost	XI	53
Molière, J. B. P. . . .	France	1653	" <i>Tartuffe</i> " and the " <i>Misanthrope</i> "	IV	264
OSCAR I, King	Sweden	1883	Translation of Goethe's Faust	XI	133
RICHARD, Cœur de Lion	England	1191	The Captive King's Complaint	IV	163
Rousseau, Jean Jacques .	France	1762	Emile	XI	163

POETS, DRAMATISTS AND NOVELISTS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
SCHILLER, Friedrich von	Germany	1777 to 1804	Hymn to Joy	V	351
	Germany		The Diver	V	354
	Germany		Dithyramb	V	358
	Germany		The Words of Belief	V	359
	Germany		The Maid of Orleans	V	360
Scott, Sir Walter	Scotland	1815	The Waverley Novels and Poems	III	364
Shakespeare, William	England	1600	His Poems and Plays	III	258
	England	1594 to 1623	Julius Caesar	III	270
	England		King Henry IV.	III	277
	England		King Henry V.	III	283
	England		Sonnets	III	285
Sidney, Sir Philip	England	1581	In the Netherlands	VIII	241
Solon	Athens	B.C. 594	The Constitution of Athens	I	219
Spenser, Edmund	England	1590	The Epithalamium	VIII	256
	England		Una and the Red Cross Knight	VIII	258
	England		Una and the Lion	VIII	260
STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER	United States	1852	Uncle Tom's Cabin	XI	334
TASSO, Torquato	Italy	1562	"The First Crusaders Reach Jerusalem"	X	143
TAYLOR, BAYARD	United States	1871	Translation of Goethe's Faust	XI	380
VIRGIL, P. Maro	Rome	B.C. 30	Augustus Deified	VI	220
	Rome	B.C. 30	The Shield of Æneas	VI	222
Voltaire	France	1718	The Henriade	XI	144
ZOLA, Émile	France	1898	The Dreyfus Affair	X	395

Religious Leaders.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ABELARD, Pierre	France	1118	Eloisa to Abelard	V	112
Alcuin, Abbot	Eng. & France	A.D. 780	The Abbot of Tours	V	26
Ambrose, St.	Gaul	A.D. 390	Rebukes Theodosius	IX	51
Augustine of Canterbury	England	A.D. 596	His Mission to England	III	187
Augustine, St.	Numidia	A.D. 395	The Monk Pelagius	IX	61
BAXTER, Richard	England	1665	Puritan Revolt	XI	49
BEECHER, HENRY W.	United States	1861	His Free Pulpit	X	346
Bernard of Clairvaux	France	1118	The Knights Templars	V	119
Beza, Theodore	Switzerland	1541	Reformation	XI	119
Buddha, Gautama	India	B.C. 624	The Four Verities	X	90
CALVIN, John	Switzerland	1534	Reformation	XI	116
CHANNING, WM. E.	United States	1820	Unitarian Movement	X	343
EDDY, Mary B. G.	America	1902	Christian Science movement	XII	295

RELIGIOUS LEADERS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
FÉNELON of Cambray	France	1700	"Ancient Tyre."	V	188
Fox, George	England	1624	Quaker Leader	XI	69
Francis of Assisi	Italy	1210	Franciscan Order	XI	102
GREGORY VII, Pope.	Italy	1077	Henry IV at Canossa	IV	84
LEO X, Pope	Italy	1513	Ancient Art Invades the [Church	VIII	372
Luther, Martin	Germany	1521	His Reform-work.	X	302
Leo XIII, Pope	Italy	1878	Condemns Heckerism	X	369
MOHAMMED.	Arabia	A.D. 622	The Hegira	VIII	263
PETER the Hermit	France	1094	The Crusades	IV	109
Pius IX, Pope	Italy	1868	Decree of Infallibility	X	368
SAVONAROLA, Girolamo.	Italy	1490	The Florentine Prophet	VI	321
URBAN II, Pope	Rome	1096	Council of Clermont	IV	103
WILLIAMS, ROGER	America	1635	His Religious Scruples	II	346

Famous Women.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
ANNE Boleyn	England	1533	Her Coronation	VII	254
Anne, Queen	England	1706	Union of Eng. and Scotland	IX	126
BARTON, CLARA	United States	1865	Her Red Cross Labors	X	291
CATHERINE II	Russia	1762	Her Strong Character	II	192
Christina, Queen	Sweden	1654	Her Abdication	IX	173
Cleopatra	Egypt	B.C. 43	Antony's Dilemma	III	114
Corday, Charlotte	France	1793	The Beautiful Assassin	VI	350
ELIZABETH, Queen	England	1558	The Virgin Queen	VIII	220
Eloisa, Abbess	France	1118	Eloisa to Abelard	V	115
FOX SISTERS	United States	1848	Spirit Manifestations	XI	380
GREY, Lady Jane	England	1554	Execution of	I	371
ISABELLA of Castile	Spain	1472	Establishes Spanish Inquisi- [tion	III	208
JOAN OF ARC	France	1429	The Martyred Maid	VII	5
Josephine, Empress	France	1804	Her Coronation	V	307
KATHARINE of Aragon	England	1527	Her Divorce	VII	247

FAMOUS WOMEN—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Event.	Vol.	Page.
L A Vallière, Duchesse de	France	1666	The Royal Lover	II	310
Louisa, Queen	Prussia	1806	Pleads with Napoleon	IX	235
MAINTENON, Madame de	France	1685	Revocation of Edict of Nantes	II	325
Margaret of Angouleme	France	1530	Aids Calvin	XI	116
Maria Theresa	Austria	1756	Diplomacy of Kaunitz	IX	181
Marie Antoinette	France	1793	Execution of	III	315
Marie Louise, Empress	France	1810	Marriage with Napoleon . . .	V	336
Marie de' Medici	France	1600	The Queen's Foster Sister . .	VII	270
Mary, Queen	England	1558	A Queen's Love Disdained . .	III	250
Mary Queen of	Scots	1566	Darnley and Rizzio	II	233
Matilda of Flanders	England	1066	Queen of William I.	II	286
Montespan, Madame de	France	1676	Her Influence over Louis XIV	II	320
NIGHTINGALE, Florence	England	1854	Her Hospital Reforms	X	287
POMPADOUR, Marquise de	France	1745	The Diversions of Louis XV	VII	285
RECAMIER, Madame	France	1810	The Illustrious Exiles	VI	392
Roland, Madame	France	1793	The Willing Victim	IV	302
SEMIRAMIS	Assyria	B.C. 810	Vul-lush and Semiramis . . .	VII	36
Staël, Madame de	France	1807	"St. Peter's, Rome."	VI	383
STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER	United States	1852	Uncle Tom's Cabin	XI	334
ZENOBIAS, Queen of the	East	A.D. 270	Palmyra	VII	103

Orators.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Extract.	Vol.	Page.
ADAMS, JOHN, President	United States	1797	Inaugural Address, "The American People"	IV	350
ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY, Pres	United States	1825	Inaugural Address, "The National Parties"	VII	353
	United States	1839	"I will put the question myself"	VII	356
BEECHER, HENRY WARD	United States	1861	Mission to England	X	346
BLAINE, JAMES G.	United States	1880	Congressional Leaders	X	247
Bright, John	England	1843	Reform Bills	XI	212
BRYAN, WILLIAM J.	United States	1896	Free Silver Campaign	XII	187
Burke, Edmund	England	1775	The American Love of Freedom	IX	229

ORATORS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Extract.	Vol.	Page.
CÆSAR, Caius Julius .	Rome	B.C. 63	On the Punishment of the Conspirators	III	49
CALHOUN, JOHN C. . . .	United States .	1847	Nullification and Secession .	VII	378
Canute, King	England	1020	Letter to the People of Eng- land	III	132
CHANNING, WILLIAM E.	United States .	1820	Reform Measures	X	343
CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM	United States .	1859	Anti-slavery Struggle	XI	380
Cicero, M. Tullius	Rome	B.C. 50	Against Verres	I	96
	Rome	B.C. 50	Against Mark Antony	I	97
CLAY, HENRY	United States .	1831	National Glory	VII	371
	United States .	1832	Plea for the Union	VII	376
DAVIS, JEFFERSON	United States .	1861	Inaugural Address	X	269
Demosthenes	Athens	B.C. 330	Against Philip	I	247
DICKINSON, JOHN	United States .	1775	Causes for Taking up Arms .	VI	65
DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A. . .	United States .	1851	American Policy in Foreign Affairs	IX	281
GARFIELD, JAMES A., President	United States .	1879	Obligation of Congress to Preserve the Government .	X	236
Godstone, William E. . .	England	1880	On the United States	X	212
GRADY, HENRY W.	United States .	1886	The Old and the New South .	X	277
GREELEY, HORACE	United States .	1850	Anti-slavery Issue	XI	378
HENRY, PATRICK	United States .	1775	Appeal to Arms	III	350
INGERSOLL, ROBERT G.	United States .	1868	Republican Convention . . .	XII	166
JEFFERSON, THOMAS, President	United States .	1801	Inaug. Address, "The Founda- tion of American Liberty"	IV	385
	United States .		His Ten Rules	IV	385
	United States .		His Estimate of Washington.	VI	57
KOSSUTH, Louis	Hungary	1848	Hungarian Revolt	XI	136
LEE, RICHARD HENRY . .	United States .	1776	Advocating Independence . .	IV	332
LEE, Gen. R. E.	United States .	1863	Offers his Resignation	VIII	161
	United States .	1865	His Farewell to his Army . .	VIII	166
LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, President	United States .	1860	Speech at the Cooper Institute	VIII	25
	United States .	1861	Appeal to the People to Avert War	VIII	34
	United States .	1863	Dedication of the Gettysburg Cemetery	VIII	36
	United States .	1865	Second Inaugural Address . .	VIII	37
	United States .	1862	The Emancipation Proclama- tion	VIII	39
MARSHALL, JOHN	United States .	1802	Chief Justice	XI	243
Mirabeau, Count	France	1789	Address to Constituents . . .	IV	298

ORATORS—CONTINUED.

Name.	Country.	Period.	Extract.	Vol.	Page.
PEEL, Sir Robert	England	1846	Corn Law Repeal	XI	194
PENN, WILLIAM	America	1682	His Proclamation	V	257
Pericles	Athens	B.C. 430	The True Glory of Athens . .	I	112
Peter the Hermit	France	1096	Who Preached the Crusades	IV	109
Phocion	Athens	B.C. 376	His Sayings	I	255
PHILLIPS, WENDELL . . .	United States .	1860	"The Eloquence of O'Connell"	X	234
Pitt, William	England	1800	Refusal to Negotiate with France	IX	210
ROBESPIERRE, M. . . .	France	1793	Condemns the King	IV	327
Roland, Madame	France	1793	Last Utterances	IV	307
SEWARD, WILLIAM H. . .	United States .	1850	The Admission of California	VIII	53
Socrates	Athens	B.C. 400	His Last Address	VII	66
STEPHENS, ALEX. H . . .	United States .	1861	Slavery the Corner-Stone of the Confederacy	IX	299
SUMNER, CHARLES	United States .	1878	Liberty and Union	IX	304
	United States .	1859	Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia . . .	IX	289
TITUS, Emperor	Rome	A.D. 70	Speech to the Romans before Jerusalem	IX	21
WASHINGTON, GEO. President	United States .	1783	His Resignation as Commander-in-Chief	VI	44
WEBSTER, DANIEL	United States .	1783	The Duty of the States to the Union	VI	45
	United States .	1830	Reply to Hayne	VII	392
	United States .	1818	Plea for Dartmouth College	VII	395
	United States .		Great Battles	VII	398
			The Future of America . . .	VII	399



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